READINGS IN ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY

VOLUME FOUR
1603 - 1688

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READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

VOLUME FOUR

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READINGS
IN
ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY
FROM
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

VOLUME FOUR

1603—1688

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EDITED BY

R. B. MORGAN, M.LITT.

INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS TO THE CROYDON EDUCATION COMMITTEE
AUTHOR OF
A New English Grammar, The Groundwork of English
ETC.

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TO

ROBERT

PREFACE

It is a truism that every great political upheaval is followed by a keener and livelier interest on the part of statesmen and the people generally in the social and industrial questions that, phœnix-like, arise and demand settlement.

The upheaval caused by the war has focussed the attention of the country upon the necessity for improving the social conditions of the people; and for many years to come legislation in the main will have to deal with the betterment of the conditions of life in its broadest and fullest aspect.

A glimpse at the social conditions of the inhabitants of this country in the past will be a help towards the better understanding of what has gone to make "this little world . . . set in the silver sea" the cradle of a race of shopkeepers (as Napoleon dubbed us), and warriors, as we have proved ourselves to be.

In these little volumes the editor has endeavoured to select from contemporary writers pen-pictures of the country and its inhabitants throughout the centuries: their mode of life; their food and clothing; their games and recreations; their feastings and their burials; their methods of fighting on land and sea; their laws and customs; their education; their instinct for trade; their pageants and their music; their joys and their sorrows; in fact, all that goes to make what we call "life."

In order to tempt his readers to explore for themselves the sources from which the extracts are taken, the editor has, where possible, chosen his selections from such editions of authorities as can be found in any modern reference

library, and to that end, the source of each extract is defined in detail. In this connection the editor is under a debt of gratitude to Mr G. Berwick Sayers, the chief librarian of Croydon's splendidly equipped public library, for his expert advice and assistance; and to him and his staff sincere thanks are due.

To Mr Walter Blackie, at whose suggestion the work was, in the first place, undertaken, the editor offers his thanks.

The illustrations have been selected by Mr S. C. Roberts, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to whom the editor is greatly indebted for his generous co-operation.

R. B. M.

10 Wellesley Grove
Croydon
Feb. 7, 1922

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TITLE-PAGE OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION, 1611 . 12

One good result of the Hampton Court Conference (1604) was a new translation of the Bible. The best scholars from the universities were chosen for the work and the King showed a keen interest in the project.

On either side of the title-page are the figures of Moses and Aaron, with the evangelists at the corners.

THE REINDEER INN, BANBURY 13

This inn belongs to the early part of the seventeenth century. One of the gables bears the date 1637, and the room here shown has fine panelling and a plaster ceiling in the Italian style.

Photograph by W. R. Sansbury, Banbury.

MORRIS DANCERS IN THE TIME OF JAMES I. . . 22

This illustration is a reproduction of part of a picture at Lord Fitzwilliam's house on Richmond Green painted about the end of James I.'s reign. It is described by Horace Walpole (*Works*, iv. 30), and shows the piper, the hobby-horse, Maid Marian, a male dancer, and the fool collecting money from the spectators.

From Kidson & Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance.*

THE NAVE OF OLD ST PAUL'S 23

The old cathedral of St Paul's was the longest in the country; it was burnt with the rest of the city in the Great Fire of 1666.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLROOM. . . 46

This is from the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a "nomenclature and pictures of all the chief things that are in the world and of men's employments therein") of John Amos Comenius, the educational reformer. The book was first published in 1657, and the school here shown is described as a place where "young minds are trained to virtue."

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STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 47

Viols and lutes were the stringed instruments principally in use at this period. Descriptions of them are given in the text.

From Cowling, *Music on the Shakespearian Stage.*

THE RESTORATION PARLIAMENT 54

This picture, which gives a somewhat crude representation of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Bishops and Convocation, is the frontispiece to *England's Glory, Or, an Exact Catalogue of the Lords of His Majesties' Most Honourable Privy Councel . . .* 1660.

EVELYN'S DESIGNS FOR THE ARMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY 55

Evelyn was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society and set himself to make sketches for its coat of arms. The first shows a ship with the motto *Et Augebitur Scientia*; the second, a hand holding a plumb-line with *Omnia probate*; the third, two telescopes with *Quantum nescimus*; the fourth, the sun with *Ad Majorem Lumen*; the last, the earth with an eye above it and the words *Rerum cognoscere causas.*

The King, however, honoured the Society by giving it the right to include the Arms of England, and the design finally adopted is seen at the foot of the picture.

From C. J. Smith, *Historical and Literary Antiquities.*
(By permission of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.)

A SCENE FROM *The Humorous Lieutenant* . . 78

From the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works* published by Tonson in 1711.

THE GREAT PLAGUE 79

This contemporary print shows the flight from the city by river and land, old St Paul's standing out prominently in the background; also the improvised burials made necessary by the ravages of the plague.

From a print in the Pepysian Collection.
(By permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.)

FACING PAGE

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The Grenadiers were originally the King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards, formed out of the English royalists who had followed the fortunes of Charles II.

The illustration shows the dress and equipment of officer, pikeman, and musketeer at the time of the regiment's formation under the command of Colonel John Russell.

From Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards.*
(By permission of Mr John Murray.)

FROST FAIR ON THE THAMES, 1684 . . . 95

This contemporary sketch shows the tents, taverns, side-shows, ice-boats, and other amusements on the frozen Thames. In the left background the Monument may just be seen.

Below are two facsimiles of keepsakes printed for the King and others when they visited the Fair.

From C. J. Smith, *Historical and Literary Antiquities.*
(By permission of Messrs Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.)

READINGS IN SOCIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS

1. LETTERS PATENT FOR JOHN STOWE TO BEG [A.D. 1603]

SOURCE: Letter of King James I., reprinted in the Preface to Morley's Edition of Stow's *Survey of London.*

James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all our well-beloved subjects, greeting.

"**Whereas** our loving subject, John Stowe (a very aged and worthy member of our City of London), this five and forty years hath to his great charge, and with neglect of his ordinary means of maintenance (for the general good, as well of posteritie as of the present age) compiled and published diverse necessary bookes and Chronicles; and **therefore We**, in recompense of these his painful labours, and for encouragement to the like, have in our royal inclination been pleased to grant our **Letters Patent** under our Great Seale of England, dated the eighth of March, 1603, thereby authorising him, the sayd John Stowe, and his deputies, to collect amongst our loving subjects theyr voluntary contribution and kinde gratuities, as by the sayd Letters Patent more at large may appeare. Now, seeing that our sayd Patents (being but one in themselves) cannot be shewed forth in diverse places or parishes at once (as the occasions of his speedy putting them in execution may require) we have

therefore thought expedient in this unusual manner to recommend his cause unto you, having already, in our own person, and of our speciall grace, begun the largesse for the example of others. Given at our palace at Westminster."

2. A PRINCELY ARCHBISHOP [1603]

SOURCE: Sir George Paule, *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, 1699.

He [Archbishop Whitgift] was indeed beloved of all sorts of people, yea even some of them who were the most fervent reprehenders themselves, as they have confessed since his death. And well worthy was he so to be, for that he carried a most mild and moderate hand over them. A more particular love also he deserved of many, for his affection unto liberal and ingenious Arts. . . . For, besides the pains which he took himself . . . many years with a number of worthy young gentlemen, in reading unto them thrice a day, he took into his House, besides his Chaplains, divers of quality to instruct them in the Mathematics, and other Lectures of sundry Arts and Languages; giving them good allowance, and Preferments otherwise, as occasion was offered. And besides the many poor Scholars, whom he kept in his House till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did sundry to good estates) he also maintained divers in the University at his own charge, and gave liberally to them and others of any towardliness, as he heard of their necessity, and wants.

He kept likewise for the exercise of Military Discipline, a good Armory, and a fair Stable of great Horses; insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both Horse and Foot, and divers times had One hundred Foot, and Fifty Horse of his own Servants mustered, and trained, for which purpose he entertained Captains. He had also skilful Riders, who taught them to manage their Horses, and instructed them in war-like Exercises, all whom he rewarded in liberal

manner. By this means he had divers of his own Gentlemen that afterwards proved good Soldiers; many whereof became Captains and Commanders, and some for their Valour and Service were Knighted in the Field. There were also divers others, that for Learning, Language, and Qualities, were fit to be employed by any Prince in Christendom. . . .

He had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful House; and so he did, having the same well ordered and governed by his head Officers therein, and all things in plentiful manner, both for his own service and entertainment of Strangers, according to their several Qualities and Degrees. He often feasted the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry of his Diocese and Neighbourhood. And at *Christmas*, especially, his gates were always open, and his Hall set twice or thrice over with Strangers. . . .

Every Year he entertained the Queen at one of his Houses, so long as he was Archbishop; and some Years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in so seemly an order, that she went thence exceedingly well pleased. And besides many publick and gracious Favours done unto him, she would salute him, and bid him farewell by the name of *Black Husband*; calling also his Men her Servants, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains.

Every third Year he went into *Kent* (unless great occasion hindered him) where he was so honourably attended upon by his own Train (consisting of Two hundred Persons) and with the Gentlemen of the Country, that he did sometimes ride into the City of *Canterbury*, and into other Towns, with eight hundred or a Thousand Horse. . . .

At his first Journey into *Kent* he rode to *Dover*, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in Livery, whereof there were forty Gentlemen in Chains of Gold. The Train of Clergy and Gentlemen in the Country, and their Followers, was above Five hundred Horse. At

his entrance into the Town, there happily landed an Intelligencer from *Rome*, of good parts, and Account, who wondered to see an Archbishop, or Clergyman in *England*, so reverenced, and attended: But seeing him upon the next Sabbath day after in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, attended upon by his gentlemen and servants (as is aforesaid); also by the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their Surplesses and scarlet Hoods, and heard the solemn Musick, with the Voices, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbuts, he was overtaken with admiration, and told an *English* Gentleman of very good quality (who then accompanied him) *That they were led in great blindness at* Rome *by our own Nation, who made the People there believe, that there was not in* England, *either Archbishop, or Bishop, or Cathedral, or any Church or Ecclesiastical Government; but that all was pulled down to the ground, and the People heard their Ministers in Woods, and Fields, amongst Trees, and bruit beasts. But, for his own part, he protested, that (unless it were in the Pope's Chappel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound.* ..

3. THE MILLENARY PETITION[1] [1603]

SOURCE: The Manifesto presented by the Puritans to James I. Fuller, *Church History of Britain.*

1. *In the church service.*—"That the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination may go before the communion; that it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of priests, and absolution, and some other used, with the ring in

[1] So called because there were nearly 1000 signatures of clergymen attached to it: the exact number was 800.

marriage, and other such-like in the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's day be not profaned. The rest upon holy days not so strictly urged. That there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or defended. No ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church."

2. *Concerning church ministers.*—"That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day. That such as be already entered, and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers. That non-residency be not permitted. That king Edward's statute, for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage, be revived. . . ."

3. *For church livings and maintenance.*—". . . That double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three benefices with cure; and some two, three, or four dignities besides. That impropriations, annexed to bishoprics and colleges, be demised only to the preachers' incumbents for the old rent. That the impropriations of laymen's fee may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister."

4. *For church discipline.*—"That . . . excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, etc. That men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-penny matters. That none be excommunicated without consent of his pastor. That the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. . . . That licenses for marriage, without banns asked, be more cautiously granted."

4. A STATE FESTIVAL AND PAGEANT [1606]

SOURCE: A letter written by Sir John Harington (Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, Vol. II.).

One day a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon his temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties, but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her casket into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down, and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen, which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress Hope, Faith and Charity: Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity: Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joined with Good Works, and left the court in a staggering condition: Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given his majesty. She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were

both sick . . in the lower hall. Next came Victory in bright armour . . and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king: but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive-branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

5. "MY LORD OF MISRULE" [1606]

SOURCE: Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses.* Spelling modernised.

First, all the wild heads of the parish, conventing together, choose them a grand captain (of mischief), whom they ennoble with the title of my Lord of Misrule, and him they crown with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chooseth forth twenty, forty, threescore, or a hundred lusty-guts like to himself, to wait upon his lordly majesty, and to guard his noble person. Then, every one of these his men he investeth with his liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour. And, as though that were not gaudy enough, they bedeck themselves with scarfs, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold rings, precious stones, and other jewels; this done, they tie about either leg twenty or forty bells, with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid across over their shoulders and necks, borrowed, for the most part, of their pretty Mopsies and loving Bessies, for bussing them in the dark. Thus, all things set in order, then have they their hobby-horses, dragons, and other antics, together with their pipers and thundering drummers, to strike up the devil's dance withal. Then march these heathen company

towards the church and church-yard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng; and in this sort they go to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching), dancing and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heads in the church like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice. Then the foolish people, they look, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount upon forms and pews to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then, after this, about the church they go again and again, and so forth into the church-yard, where they have commonly their summer halls, their bowers, arbours, and banqueting-houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet and dance all that day, and peradventure all that night too. And thus these terrestrial furies spend the Sabbath-day. Then, for the further ennobling of this honourable lurdan (lord, I should say), they have also certain papers, wherein is painted some babblery, or other of imagery work, and these they call my Lord of Misrule's badges; these they give to every one that will give money for them, to maintain them in this their heathenry, devilry, drunkenness, pride and what not. And who will not show himself buxom to them, and give them money for these the devil's cognizances, they shall be mocked and flouted at shamefully; yea, and many times carried upon a coulstaff, and dived over head and ears in water, or otherwise most horribly abused. . . . Another sort of fantastical fools bring to these hell-hounds (the Lord of Misrule and his complices), some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some cakes, some flauns, some tarts, some cream, some meat, some one thing, some another.

6. A FRANKLIN [1610]

SOURCE: Sir Thomas Overbury, *Characters*. Rimbault's edition, 1856. Spelling modernised.

His outside is an ancient yeoman of England, though is inside may give arms with the best gentlemen and ne'er see the herald. There is no truer servant in the house than himself. Though he be master, he says not to his servants, Go to field, but Let us go; and with his own eye doth both fatten his flock, and set forward all manner of husbandry. He is taught by nature to be contented with a little; his own fold yields him both food and raiment; he is pleased with any nourishment God sends, whilst curious gluttony ransacks, as it were, Noah's Ark for food, only to feed the riot of one meal. He is never known to go to law; understanding to be law-bound among men, is like to be hide-bound among his beasts; they thrive not under it; and that such men sleep as unquietly, as if their pillows were stuffed with lawyers' penknives. When he builds, no poor tenant's cottage hinders his prospect; they are, indeed, his almshouses, though there be painted on them no such superscription. He never sits up late, but when he hunts the badger, the vowed foe of his lambs; nor uses he any cruelty but when he hunts the hare; nor subtlety but when he setteth snares for the snipe, or pitfalls for the blackbird; nor oppression, but when in the month of July he goes to the next river and shears his sheep. He allows of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead anything bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the churchyard after even-song. Rock-Monday, and the wake in summer, shrovings, the wakeful catches on Christmas-eve, the hoky or seed-cake, these he yearly keeps, yet holds them no relics of popery. He is not so inquisitive after news derived from the privy closet, when the finding an eyry of hawks in his own ground, or the foaling of a colt come of a

good strain, are tidings more pleasant, more profitable. He is lord paramount within himself, though he hold by never so mean a tenure; and dies the more contentedly, though he leave his heir young, in regard he leaves him not liable to a covetous guardian. Lastly to end him; he cares not when his end comes, he needs not fear his audit, for his *quietus* is in heaven.

7. THE DEDICATION OF THE AUTHORISED TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE [1611]

TO

THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE

JAMES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

The Translators of the Bible wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord.

Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of *England*, when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well unto our *Sion*, that upon the setting of that bright *Occidental Star*, Queen *Elizabeth* of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this Land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk; and that it should hardly be known, who was to direct the unsettled State; the appearance of Your Majesty, as of the *Sun* in his strength,

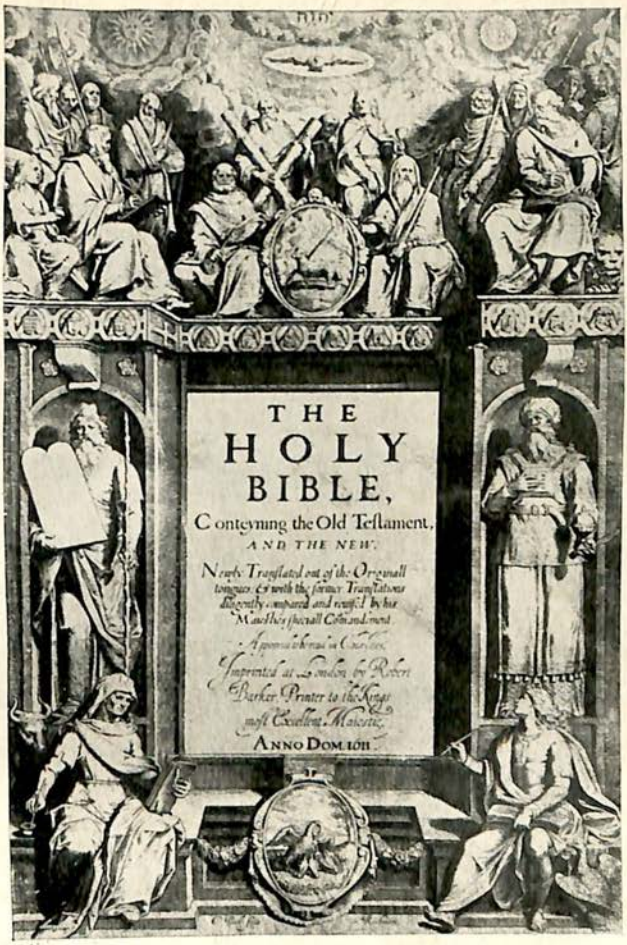
instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well affected exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the Government established in Your Highness, and Your hopeful seed, by an undoubted Title, and this also accompanied with peace and tranquillity at home and abroad.

But amongst all our joys, there was no one that more filled our hearts, than the blessed continuance of the preaching of God's sacred Word amongst us; which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth; because the fruit thereof extendeth itself, not only to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men unto that eternal happiness which is above in Heaven.

Then not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it up, and to continue it in that state, wherein the famous Predecessor of Your Highness did leave it: nay, to go forward with the confidence and resolution of a Man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all Your Majesty's loyal and religious people unto You, that Your very name is precious among them: their eye doth behold You with comfort, and they bless You in their hearts, as that sanctified Person, who, under God, is the immediate Author of their true happiness. And this their contentment doth not diminish or decay, but every day increaseth and taketh strength, when they observe, that the zeal of Your Majesty towards the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the furthest parts of *Christendom*, by writing in defence of the Truth (which hath given such a blow unto that man of sin, as will not be healed,) and every day at home, by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the Word preached, by cherishing the Teachers thereof, by caring for the Church, as a most tender and loving nursing Father.

There are infinite arguments of this right Christian and religious affection in Your Majesty; but none is more forcible to declare it to others than the vehement and perpetuated desire of the accomplishing and publishing of this work, which now with all humility we present unto Your Majesty. For when Your Highness had once out of deep judgment apprehended how convenient it was, that out of the Original Sacred Tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own, and other foreign Languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the *English Tongue*; Your Majesty did never desist to urge and to excite those to whom it was commended, that the work might be hastened, and that the business might be expedited in so decent a manner, as a matter of such importance might justly require.

And now at last, by the mercy of God, and the continuance of our labours, it being brought unto such a conclusion, as that we have great hopes that the Church of *England* shall reap good fruit thereby; we hold it our duty to offer it to Your Majesty, not only as to our King and Sovereign, but as to the principal Mover and Author of the work: humbly craving of Your most Sacred Majesty, that since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons, it may receive approbation and patronage from so learned and judicious a Prince as Your Highness is, whose allowance and acceptance of our labours shall more honour and encourage us, than all the calumniations and hard interpretations of other men shall dismay us. So that if, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish Persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God's holy Truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness: or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by selfconceited


THE
HOLY
BIBLE,
Conteyning the Old Teſtament,
AND THE NEW.
Newly Tranſlated out of the Originall tongues, & with the former Tranſlations diligently compared and reuiſed, by his Maiesties ſpeciall Commandement.
Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.
ANNO DOM. 1611.

Title-page of the Authorised Version, 1611

The Reindeer Inn, Banbury

Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing, but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavours against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations.

The Lord of heaven and earth bless Your Majesty with many and happy days, that, as his heavenly hand hath enriched Your Highness with many singular and extraordinary graces, so You may be the wonder of the world in this latter age for happiness and true felicity, to the honour of that great GOD, and the good of his Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.

8. ENGLISH INNS [1617]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Spelling modernised.

The world affords not such inns as England hath, either for good and cheap entertainment after the guests' own pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers, yea, even in very poor villages. . . . For as soon as a passenger comes to an inn, the servants run to him, and one takes his horse, and walks him till he be cold, then rubs him, and gives him meat, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the master or his servant to oversee them. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fire, the third pulls off his boots, and makes them clean. Then the host or hostess visits him, and if he will eat with the host, or at a common table with others, his meal will cost him sixpence, or in some places but fourpence, (yet this course is less honourable,

and not used by gentlemen); but if he will eat in his chamber, he commands what meat he will according to his appetite, and as much as he thinks fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchen is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes; and when he sits at table, the host or hostess will accompany him, or if they have many guests, will at least visit him, taking it for courtesy to be bid sit down: while he eats, if he have company especially, he shall be offered music, which he may freely take or refuse, and if he be solitary, the musicians will give him the good day with music in the morning. It is the custom and no way disgraceful, to set up part of supper for his breakfast. In the evening or in the morning after breakfast, (for the common sort use not to dine, but ride from breakfast to supper time, yet coming early to the inn for better resting of their horses), he shall have a reckoning in writing, and if it seem unreasonable, the host will satisfy him, either for the due price, or by abating part, especially if the servant deceive him any way, which one of experience will soon find. . . . If gentlemen will in such sort join together, to eat at one table, the expenses will be much diminished. Lastly, a man cannot more freely command at home in his own house, than he may do in his inn, and at parting if he give some few pence to the chamberlain and ostler, they wish him a happy journey.

9. A COUNTERBLAST TO TOBACCO [1604]

SOURCE: James I., *A Counterblast to Tobacco*. Ed. Arber, 1869. Spelling modernised.

Now how you are by this custom disabled in your goods, let the gentry of this land bear witness, some of them bestowing three, some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink, which I am sure might be bestowed upon many far better uses. I read indeed of a knavish courtier, who for

abusing the favour of the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, his master, by taking bribes to intercede for sundry persons in his master's ear (for whom he never once opened his mouth), was justly choked with smoke, with this doom *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of so many smoke-buyers, as are at this present in this kingdom, I never read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthy custom, is it not both great vanity and uncleanness, that at the table, a place of respect, of cleanliness, of modesty, men should not be ashamed to sit tossing of tobacco pipes . . . making the filthy smoke and stink thereof to exhale athwart the dishes, and infect the air, when very often men that abhor it are at their repast? Surely smoke becomes a kitchen far better than a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchen also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, soiling and infecting them, with an unctuous and oily kind of soot, as hath been found in some great tobacco takers, that after their death were opened. And not only meat time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the public use of this uncivil trick: so as if the wives of Dieppe list to contest with this nation for good manners, their worst manners would in all reason be found at least not so dishonest (as ours are) in this point. The public use whereof, at all times and in all places hath now so far prevailed, as divers men very sound both in judgment and complexion, have been at last forced to take it also without desire, partly because they were ashamed to seem singular (like the two philosophers that were forced to duck themselves in that rain water, and so became fools as well as the rest of the people) and partly, to be as one that was content to eat garlic (which he did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it in the breath of his fellows. And is it not a great vanity, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with tobacco? No, it is become in place of a cure a point of good fellowship, and he

that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco among his fellows (though by his own election he would rather feel the savour of a sink), is accounted peevish and no good company, even as they do with tippling in the cold eastern countries. Yea the mistress cannot in a more mannerly kind entertain her servant, than by giving him out of her fair hand a pipe of tobacco. But herein is not only a great vanity, but a great contempt of God's good gifts, that the sweetness of man's breath, being a good gift of God, should be wilfully corrupted by this stinking smoke, wherein I must confess, it hath too strong a virtue: and so that which is an ornament of nature, and can neither by any artifice be at the first acquired, nor once lost, be recovered again, shall be filthily corrupted with an incurable stink, which vile quality is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholesomeness thereof, as the venom of putrefaction is contrary to the virtue of preservation.

Moreover, which is a great iniquity and against all humanity, the husband shall not be ashamed to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome, and clean complexioned wife to that extremity, that either she must also corrupt her sweet breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetual stinking torment.

Have you not reason then to be ashamed, and to forbear this filthy novelty, so basely grounded, so foolishly received and so grossly mistaken in the right use thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming yourselves both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the marks and notes of vanity upon you: by the custom thereof making yourselves to be wondered at by all foreign civil nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned. A custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

10. A SOCIETY LADY'S REQUIREMENTS [1616]

SOURCE: A letter written by Lady Compton to her husband, afterwards Earl of Northampton. (Quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson's *Comprehensive History.*)

MY SWEET LIFE,—

Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of *your* state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink and consider within myself what allowance were meetest for *me.* I pray and beseech you to grant to me your most kind and loving wife, the sum of £2600 quarterly to be paid. Also, I would, besides that allowance, have £600, quarterly to be paid, for the performance of charitable works; and those things I would not, neither will be, accountable for. Also, I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow: none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also, I would have two gentlemen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let; also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate. Also, when I ride a-hunting or a-hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so for either of these said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses: and a coach for my women, lined with cloth, and laced with gold, otherwise with scarlet, and laced with silver, with four good horses. Also I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women. Also, at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only caroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all; orderly, not pestering my things with my women's, nor theirs with either chamber-maids, nor theirs with wash-maids. Also, for laundresses, when I

travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages, to see all safe. And the chambermaids I will have go before, that the chamber may be ready, sweet and clean. Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me, either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire is that you defray all the charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also I would have to put in my purse £2000 and £200, and so you to pay my debts. Also I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain. Now seeing I have been, and am, so reasonable unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages. Also, I will have all my houses furnished, and my lodging-chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit, as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, and all things thereunto belonging. Also, my desire is that you would pay your debts, build up Ashley House, and purchase lands; and lend no money, as you love God, to my lord-chamberlain, who would have all, perhaps your life from you. . . . So, now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an earl, to allow me £2000 more than I now desire, and double attendance.

11. THE BOOK OF SPORTS [1618]

SOURCE: *The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used.*

. . . Whereas we did justly, in our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and

unlawful punishing of our good people, for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises, upon Sundays and other holidays, after the afternoon sermon or service; we now find, that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected (we mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings: and therefore lest our reputation might, upon the one side (though innocently), have some aspersion laid upon it; and upon the other part, our good people in that country be misled, by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning: we have therefore thought good, hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts.

It is true that at our first entry to this crown and kingdom, we were informed (and that too truly) that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish recusants, than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment; save that now of late, in our last riding through our said county, we find, both by the report of the judges, and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning; which is no small contentment to us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when, with our own ears, we heard the general complaint of our people, "That they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, after the ending of all divine service." . .

Our pleasure is, that after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vantling, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitson Ales, and Morris dances; and the setting up of Maypoles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of

divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only; as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times, (in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling.

. . . And we likewise straitly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish-church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service; prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried, or used in the said times of recreations.

12. SOME ENGLISH CUSTOMS [1619]

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Unpublished chapters contained in *Shakespeare's Europe*, 1903.

Touching customs, England keeps the old calender, begins the day at midnight, and the year upon the 25th of March. . . . Strangers blame two customs of the English: first, that a man telling of a tale or speaking to others at table, if any of them drink, will be silent till they have drunk, which may be good manners if the speech demand or require present answer, but otherwise is needless . . . secondly that we put off hats too often at table with offence of shedding loose hairs and the like, and too little at other meetings as at ordinaries, where some, as in a place of equal expense, will enter without salutation, and generally think it needless towards familiar friends, and base towards unknown men.

England excels all other countries in the goodness and number of ambling nags and geldings, and no other nation hath so many and easy pads to ride upon, nor in any measure chairs and stools so frequently bombasted and richly adorned. But strangers seeing most of our gentlemen ride upon hard northern saddles, wonder they should use them abroad, who desire to sit so soft at home.

The custom for each parish to keep a register of all

children christened, whereby any man may prove his age (being a thing important for many cases of law and otherwise) was first begun in England in the time of Henry the Eighth. . . .

England hath three very old and very laudable customs, used in no other kingdom that I know. First for children at morning and evening to ask their parents' blessing, and extraordinarily their godfathers' when they meet them. Secondly that all malefactors are followed from village to village by public officers with hue and cry. Thirdly that when any man is at the point of death, a great bell is tolled, to warn all men to pray for him while he yet liveth, and when the party is dead, by a number of several strokes at the bell, notice is given whether the party dead be a man, woman, or child, and then the bell is rung out. As likewise at the burial all the bells of the church for some hours are rung out.

Touching bells, England hath many singularities, as in the general greatness of them, some one (as that of Lincoln Minster) requiring the help of many men to toll it, and some dozen or twenty men to ring it out. Also in the incredible number of them. . . .

Besides that most churches have each of them three, five, or seven bells of differing bigness, which men commonly ring out in musical tunes for recreation, which I never observed to be done in any other country. . . .

13. A RECIPE FOR HERRING PIE [1620]

SOURCE: A seventeenth-century Cookery Book, quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson, *Comprehensive History of England.*

Take salt herrings, being watered; wash them between your hands, and you shall loose the fish from the skin; take off the skin whole, and lay them in a dish; then have a pound of almond-paste ready; mince the herrings and stamp them with the almond-paste, two of the milts or roes, five or six dates, some grated manchet, sugar, sack,

rose-water and saffron; make the composition somewhat stiff, and fill the skins; put butter in the bottom of your pie, lay on the herring, and on them dates, gooseberries, currants, barberries, and butter; close it up, and bake it; being baked, liquor it with butter, verjuice, and sugar.

14. PAUL'S WALK [1628]

[The middle aisle of St Paul's Cathedral was the meeting place and resort of all classes of London society in the early part of the seventeenth century.]

(a) *Its Character*

SOURCE: Earle's *Microcosmographie*. Spelling modernised.

Is the land's Epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this—the whole world's map, which you may here discern in its perfectest motion, jostling and turning.' It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees—a strange humming or buzz, mixed of walking, tongues and feet. It is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politic, jointed and laid together in most serious posture; and they are not half so busy at the Parliament. It is the antic[1] of tails to tails, and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. . . . The visitants are all men without excep-

[1] Grotesque exhibition.

Morris Dancers in the time of James I

The Nave of Old St Paul's

tions; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are state knights and captains out of service—men of long rapiers and breeches—which after all turn merchants here and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach; but thriftier men make it their Ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is least haunted with hobgoblins, for if a ghost would walk more he could not."

(b) *How a Gallant should behave himself in Paul's Walk.*

SOURCE: Thomas Dekker's *The Gull's Hornbook.*

He that would strive to fashion his legs to his silk stockings, and his proud gait to his broad garters, let him whiff down these observations; for if he once get but to walk by the book, and I see no reason but he may, as well as fight by the book, Paul's may be proud of him; Will Clarke shall ring forth encomiums in his honour; John, in Paul's Churchyard, shall fit his head for an excellent block; whilst all the Inns of Court rejoice to behold his most handsome calf.

Your Mediterranean aisle is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complemental Gulls are, and ought to be hung up. Into that gallery carry your neat body; but take heed you pick out such an hour when the main shoal of islanders are swimming up and down. And first observe your doors of entrance and your exit; not much unlike the players at the theatres; keeping your decorums even in fantasticality. As for example, if you prove to be a northern gentleman, I would wish you to pass through the north door, more often especially than any of the other; and so, according to your countries, take note of your entrances.

Now for your venturing into the Walk. Be circumspect and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving-man's log, and approach not within five

fathom of that pillar; but bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the church may appear to be yours; where, in view of all, you may publish your suit in what manner you affect most, either with the slide of your cloak from the one shoulder; and then you must, as 'twere in anger, suddenly snatch at the middle of the inside, if it be taffeta at the least; and so by that means your costly lining is betrayed, or else by the pretty advantage of compliment. But one note by the way do I especially woo you to, the neglect of which makes many of our gallants cheap and ordinary, that by no means you be seen above four turns; but in the fifth make yourself away, either in some of the sempsters' shops, the new tobacco office, or amongst the booksellers, where, if you cannot read, exercise your smoke, and inquire who has writ against this divine weed, etc. For this withdrawing yourself a little will much benefit your suit, which else, by too long walking, would be stale to the whole spectators: but howsoever, if Paul's jacks be once up with their elbows, and quarrelling to strike eleven; as soon as ever the clock has parted them and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery contain you any longer, but pass away apace in open view; in which departure, if by chance you either encounter, or aloof off-throw your inquisitive eye upon any knight or squire, being your familiar, salute him not by his name of *Sir such-a-one* or so; but call him *Ned* or *Jack*, etc. This will set off your estimation with great men; and if though there be a dozen companies between you, 'tis the better, he call aloud to you—for that's most genteel—to know where he shall find you at two o'clock; tell him at such an ordinary, or such; and be sure to name those that are dearest, and whither none but your gallants resort. After dinner you may appear again, having translated yourself out of your English cloth cloak into a light Turkey grogram, if you have that happiness of shifting; and then be seen, for a turn or two, to correct

your teeth with some quill or silver instrument, and to cleanse your gums with a wrought handkercher; it skills not whether you dined or no—that's best known to your stomach—or in what place you dined; though it were with cheese, of your own mother's making, in your chamber or study.

15. A CALM AND HAPPY ENGLAND [1630]

SOURCE: Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion.*

Now I must be so just as to say, that, during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run, that is, from the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year [1629] to the beginning of this Parliament which was above 12 years, this kingdom and all his majesty's dominions . . . enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with; to the wonder and envy of all the parts of Christendom . . . Scotland . . in a full, entire, undisturbed peace, which they had never seen . . . in a competency, if not in an excess of plenty, which they had never hope to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost we desired and hoped to see) free from rebellion; Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw and a gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, and gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the revenue of the crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides much more to the people in the traffick and trade from thence; arts and sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole nation beginning to be so civilized, that it was a jewel of great lustre in the royal diadem.

When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned,

it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, with the advantage of its own climate; the court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess and luxury; the country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride and wantonness of it: the church flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and . . . supplied with oil to feed those lamps, and the protestant religion more advanced against the Church of Rome by writing . . . than it had been from the Reformation; trade increased to that degree, that we were the exchange of Christendom, (the revenue thereof to the crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times) and the bullion of all other kingdoms was brought to receive a stamp from the mint of England; all foreign merchants looking upon nothing as their own, but what they had laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom; the royal navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at sea; and the reputation of the greatness and power of the king much more with foreign princes than any of his progenitors.

16. THE EDUCATION OF A PURITAN LADY [*circa* 1625]

SOURCE: *The Life of Mrs Hutchinson*, written by herself and included in the *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

As soon as I was weaned a French woman was taken to be my dry-nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. . . . By that time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework; but my genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so

eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hour allow'd me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain that was my tutor was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers who had a great deal of wit had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father, tho' my mother would have been contented [if] I had not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for music and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertain such as came to visit me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myself with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit; and very profitable serious discourse being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing-room. I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter again to great admiration of many that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught: I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourse to good subjects; but I thought,

when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to anything that was not sin; for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked, I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty songs and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confidant in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there were none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest.

17. THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT [1629]

SOURCE: Privy Council Register, Charles I., Vol. V.

LETTER FROM PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN THE COUNTIES OF SUFFOLK AND ESSEX CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR.

Whereas we by special directions of his Majesty did lately commend unto your care the present state of those parts of your county where the poor clothiers and their workmen at present destitute of work might some other way be employed, or for the time be relieved till some obstructions to trade were removed, as also to keep in order those that are loose and ill disposed people; to which end his Majesty, by advice of his Privy Council and Judges, hath lately published a proclamation declaring his pleasure and command in what manner the truly poor and impotent should be relieved, those of able bodies should be set on work and employed in honest labour, and the sturdy, idle and dangerous rogues and vagabonds should be reformed and punished, which proclamation you shall herewith likewise receive; now, because we understand that in your county there is more than ordinary occasion to use all diligence and industry

at this time, we have thought fit to put you more particularly in mind thereof, and in answer to your letters to let you know that it is the resolution of all the judges, that by the law you have sufficient powers and right to raise means out of the several parishes, if they be of ability, or otherwise in their defect, in their several hundreds, lathes or wapentakes, and for want of their ability (to set your poor on work and to relieve the aged and impotent not able to work) in the whole body of the county; wherefore his Majesty commands that the ways provided by law in these cases be duly followed with all diligence and possible speed. You are required to understand the true state of the county from the ministers, churchwardens and overseers of the several parishes within your several divisions. And what rests herein to be done by order at the quarter sessions, the judges advise that for this purpose you may call the quarter sessions sooner than the ordinary set times, and do that which in this case is so requisite.

Further, we let you know, that such hath been his Majesty's care and personal pains taken to remove these impediments that of late have been to trade, and to open a free vent to the commodities of your county, that yourselves will shortly see the fruits of it to your comforts; nevertheless in the meantime these things provided by the law; and the helps that by your care may be added, are in no sort to be neglected, but exactly pursued; of which your proceedings we are to be advertised that so we may render account thereof to his Majesty.

18. AMUSEMENTS

SOURCE: Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*. Unpublished chapters contained in *Shakespeare's Europe*.

It is a singularity in the nature of the English, that they are strangely addicted to all kinds of pleasure above all other nations. This of old was justly attributed to idleness,

when the multitude of monasteries and the great trains and large house-keepings of lords and gentlemen were nurseries of thieves and idle persons, so as we were served for the most part by strangers in all manual trades. But since the putting down of monasteries and of those great trains and large house-keepings—howsoever I cannot deny that, out of this natural addiction to pleasure (or idleness if you will so call it) and out of natural boldness less to fear death than want, more persons are excuted in England for stealing and robberies by the highway, than in many vast kingdoms abroad—yet do not these offences so much abound as in those former times, and for manual trades, we are now almost altogether served by natives, who for necessity to eat their own bread, are in good measure grown industrious artisans. But for the point of pleasures, the English, from the lords to very husbandmen, have generally more fair and more large gardens and orchards than any other nation. All cities, towns, and villages swarm with companies of musicians and fiddlers, which are rare in other kingdoms. The city of London alone hath four or five companies of players with their peculiar theatres capable of many thousands, wherein they play every day in the week but Sunday, with most strange concourse of people, besides many strange toys and fancies exposed by signs to be seen in private houses, to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flock in great numbers. . . . As there be, in my opinion, more plays in London than in all the parts of the world I have seen, so do these players or comedians excel all other in the world. . . . Not to speak of frequent spectacles in London exhibited to the people by fencers, by walkers on ropes, and like men of activity, nor of frequent companies of archers shooting in all the fields, nor of Saints' days, which the people not keeping (at least most of them, or with any devotion) for church service, yet keep for recreation of walking and gaming.

What shall I say of dancing with curious and rural music, frequently used by the better sort, and upon all holidays, by country people dancing about the maypoles with bagpipes or other fiddlers, besides the jollities of certain seasons of the year, of setting up maypoles, dancing the Morris with hobby horses, bringing home the lady of the harvest, and like plebeian sports, in all which vanities no nation cometh anything near the English. What shall I say of playing at cards and dice, frequently used by all sorts, rather as a trade than as recreation, for which all strangers much blame us.

As the English are by nature amorous, so do they above other nations assert and follow the pleasant study of poetry, and therein have in good measure attained excellency.

To conclude with hawking and hunting. No nation so frequently useth these sports as the English. No nation of greater compass, alloweth such great proportions of lands for parks to impale fallow and red deer. And as England hath plenty of red deer, so I will boldly say that it, perhaps one shire of it, hath more fallow deer than all the continent of the world that I have seen. . . .

No nation followeth these pastimes and exercises on horseback and on foot, so frequently and painfully in any measure of comparison. England yields excellent sparrow hawks, and Ireland hawks of divers kinds; but especially goshawks, and gentlemen with great charge procure plenty of the best hawks from foreign parts.

Not only gentlemen, but yeomen frequently hunt the hare, not only with greyhounds, but hounds in keeping whereof for that purpose divers yeomen join together. . . .

And for all these sports and other uses, England hath without comparison greater number and better dogs than any other nation, as mastiffs for keeping the house, rough water dogs for the duck, greyhounds for the hare, divers kinds of hounds for all huntings and spaniels for hawking, and bloodhounds to track stolen deer or other things, and

little dogs for women's pleasure, and all these beautiful and good, and some most rare.

19. ENGLISH HOSPITALITY [1631]

(a) *Towards strangers*

SOURCE: As No. 18.

Strangers commonly arrive at Gravesend, inhabited by people who have been themselves in foreign parts, and are apt to use like extortions to them, as perhaps themselves have received abroad. And indeed generally that town gives such ill entertainment to the very English, as few men of the better sort will lodge there, but upon necessity. From thence strangers are directed to like hosts at London, where they may be ill used for expenses, and there perhaps are sometime annoyed by the insolency of the baser sort of apprentices, serving men, dray men and like people, which presuming upon their numbers do many like insolences to English gentlemen and ladies. Besides I cannot deny that the citizens of London and of less cities have had and may have a spleen against strangers for growing rich among them by traffic used to their prejudice. But if a stranger will choose an honest guide, and converse with the better sort, he shall find singular courtesy, out of natural disposition from lords, from the gentry, from all scholars, and not only verbal but real, in being made welcome to their houses and tables, bearing all respects to them rather above than under their degrees. For as the English, contrary to the custom of all nations, give the higher place and way to women though of lower degree than themselves, out of a noble mind to give honour and support to weakness, so give they like respect to strangers, especially to military men and doctors of liberal professions. . . .

And this all experienced strangers do confess, but they unthankfully misconceive the cause, attributing that excessive courtesy to the simplicity of the English, which truly

belongs to the nobility of their minds, as may appear by the foresaid respect to women, and especially that this courtesy towards strangers abounds most in the most noble and learned men, farthest from simplicity. Yet I confess that also very husbandmen and country people in England especially, within land (for they on the sea coasts have daily exasperations against strangers) . . . are naturally courteous and kind towards strangers especially when by their guide or their own language, they can make themselves in some weak measure understood whence and who they are.

(b) *Towards prisoners of war*

SOURCE: As No. 18.

Since the Saxons gave the name of England to this island, and since the Normans did conquer it, I did never read history, through the long and victorious wars they made in France and other kingdoms, which ever taxed them of cruelty, but rather record many examples wherein they used singular mercy and humanity towards the conquered, and all such as they took prisoners. Yea in our time, during the reign of Elizabeth, late Queen of famous memory, in her renowned victories, we remember and our enemies cannot but witness with us, singular mercy and humanity to have been used towards all captives and prisoners, more especially in the naval victory of the year 1588. And at the siege of Kinsale in Ireland, in both which it is notoriously known that singular mercy was used to all prisoners, and that many captives of the best sort lived in as good if not better condition than they did at home and gained by their captivity, being released without ransom or paying anything for their expenses, which burthen, besides the bounty of presents, they sustained to whom they were captives by the law of war.

20. TOUCHING RELIGION [1631]

SOURCE: As No. 18.

I will only add in general, that the English were always religiously affected, and while they were obedient to the Pope, yielded him in proportion more profit than any other kingdom. That they have built and founded more stately and rich monasteries, colleges, universities and cathedral churches, than any other nation, yea that the building of many common churches (particularly in Lincolnshire) cost more than all the houses of the town. And I may boldly say that England hath more bells and of greater price, than any three kingdoms, if not than all the world besides. To which give me leave to add the old and laudable custom of England, to toll a bell when any one lieth at the point of death, to remember all men to pray for him, as the proper time when prayers may avail him, namely while he yet liveth. To conclude . . . I think that nothing in our age hath more pinched the Papists than our gracious sovereign's wise invention of the Oath of Allegiance; for when they suffered for the Oath of Supremacy, they had pretence thereby, as for a point of religion, to be made martyrs. But howsoever the Pope hath made it an Article of Faith that he may depose kings and absolve subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, yet I think few learned and godly papists would be content to suffer for that new and strange Article of Faith.

21. A QUAKER'S ILL-TREATMENT [1640]

SOURCE: *Journal of George Fox.* Spelling modernised.

So of a sudden all the people in the steeplehouse was in an outrage and an uproar: that they fell upon me in the steeplehouse before his face: and knocked me down, and

kicked me, and trampled upon me before his face: and people tumbled over their seats for fear: and at last he came and took me from amongst the people again: and led me out of the steeplehouse, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers' hands, and bid them whip me and put me out of the town, and then they led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar and some by the arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me, and some got hedgestakes: and holme bushes and other staffs: and many friendly people that was come to the market: and some came into the steeplehouse to hear me: many of them they knocked down, and broke their heads also (and the blood ran down several people so as I never saw the like in my life: as I looked at them when they was dragging me along).

And Judge Fell's son running after to see what they would do with me: they threw him into a ditch of water, and cried, "Knock out the teeth of his head!"

And when they had led me to the common (moss), and a multitude of people following: there they fell upon me with their staffs and hedgestakes, and the constables and officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow rods, and so thrust me amongst the rude multitude: and they then fell upon me as aforesaid with their stakes and clubs, and beat me on my head and arms and shoulders, till they had mazed me, and at last I fell down upon the wet common: and when I recovered my self again and saw my self lying on a watery common, and all the people standing about me, I lay a little still, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings refreshed me, that I stood up again in the eternal power of God, and stretched out my arms amongst them all, and said again with a loud voice: "Strike again! here is my arms, my head, and my cheeks!"

22. TRAVELLERS' TALES [1642]

SOURCE: James Howell's *Instructions for Foreign Travel.* Spelling modernised.

Others have a custom to be always relating strange things and wonders (of the humour of Sir John Mandeville) and they usually present them to the hearers through multiplying-glasses, and thereby cause the thing to appear far greater than it is in itself; they make mountains out of mole-hills, like Charenton Bridge Echo, which doubles the sound nine times. Such a traveller was he that reported the Indian fly to be as big as a fox: China birds to be as big as some horses, and their mice to be as big as monkeys; but they have the wit to fetch this far enough, because the hearer may rather believe it than make a voyage so far to disprove it.

Every one knows the tale of him who reported he had seen a cabbage, under whose leaves a regiment of soldiers were sheltered from a shower of rain. Another who was no traveller, yet the wiser man, said he had passed by a place where there were 400 brasiers making of a caldron—200 within, and 200 without, beating the nails in; the traveller asking for what use that huge cauldron was? he told him—"Sir, it was to boil your cabbage!"

Such another was the Spanish traveller, who was so habituated to hyperbolise and relate wonders, that he became ridiculous in all companies, so that he was forced at last to give order to his man, when he fell into any excess this way, and report anything improbable, he should pull him by the sleeve. The master falling into his wonted hyperboles, spoke of a church in China that was ten thousand yards long; his man, standing behind, and pulling him by the sleeve, made him stop suddenly. The company asking, "I pray, sir, how broad might that church be?" he replied: "But a yard broad; and you may thank my man for pulling me by the sleeve, else I had made it foursquare for you."

23. THE GOOD SCHOOLMASTER

SOURCE: Fuller, *The Holy State.*

There is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge; yea perchance, before they have taken any degree in the university, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others who are able, use it only as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, they are disheartened from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being masters to the children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and scorn to touch the school but by the proxy of an usher. But see how well our schoolmaster behaves himself.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profession. Some men had as lieve be schoolboys as schoolmasters, to be tied to the school as Cooper's Dictionary and Scapula's Lexicon are chained to the desk therein; and though great scholars, and skilful in other arts are bunglers in this. But God, of his goodness, hath fitted several men for several callings, that the necessities of church and state, in all conditions, may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabric thereof may say, God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent. And thus God mouldeth some for a schoolmaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight, and discharging it with dexterity and happy success.

He studieth his scholars' natures as carefully as they their

books; and ranks their dispositions into several forms. And though it may seem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced schoolmasters may quickly make a grammar of boys' natures and reduce them all—saving some few exceptions—to these general rules.

1. Those that are ingenious and industrious. The conjunction of two such planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To such a lad a frown may be a whipping and a whipping a death; yea where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentleness.

2. Those that are ingenious and idle. These think with the hare in the fable, that running with snails—so they count the rest of their schoolfellows—they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh, a good rod would finely take them napping.

3. Those that are dull and diligent. Wines, the stronger they be, the more lees they have when new. Many boys are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and such afterwards prove the best. Bristol diamonds are both bright, and squared, and pointed by nature, and yet are soft and worthless; whereas orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard, rugged and dull natures of youth, acquit themselves afterwards the jewels of the country, and therefore their dulness at first is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts, which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour Nature hath appointed.

4. Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on

that which hath no steel in it. Such boys he consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boat-makers will choose those crooked pieces of timber which other carpenters refuse. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanics which will not serve for scholars.

He is able, diligent and methodical in his teaching; not leading them rather in a circle than forwards. He minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that his scholars may go along with him.

He is and will be known to be an absolute monarch in his school. If cockering mothers proffer him money to purchase their sons an exemption from his rod—to live, as it were, in a peculiar, out of their master's jurisdiction—with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custom in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boys from the rod at a set price. If he hath a stubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaseth not his authority by contesting with him, but fairly, if he can, puts him away before his obstinancy hath infected others.

He is moderate in inflicting deserved correction. Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name *paidotribes* than *paidagogos,* rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping than giving them good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the Muses, being presented unto them in the shapes of fiends and furies. . . .

Such an Orbilius mars more scholars than he makes. Their tyranny hath caused many tongues to stammer which spake plain by nature, and whose stuttering at first was nothing else but fears quavering on their speech at their master's presence; and whose mauling them about the heads hath dulled those who in quickness exceeded their master.

He makes his school free to him who sues to him in formâ pauperis. And surely learning is the greatest alms that

can be given. But he is a beast who, because the poor scholar cannot pay him his wages, pays the scholar in his whipping; rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr Bust, the worthy late schoolmaster of Eton, who would never suffer any wandering begging scholar—such as justly the statute hath ranked in the fore front of rogues—to come into his school, but would thrust him out with earnestness—however privately charitable unto him—lest his schoolboys should be disheartened from their books, by seeing some scholars after their studying in the university preferr'd to beggery.

He spoils not a good school to make thereof a bad college, therein to teach his scholars Logic. For, besides that Logic may have an action of trespass against Grammar for encroaching on her liberties, Syllogisms are Solecisms taught in the school, and oftentimes they are forced afterwards in the university to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before.

Out of his school he is no way pedantical in carriage or discourse; contenting himself to be rich in Latin, though he doth not jingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, let this, amongst other motives, make schoolmasters careful in their place—that the eminences of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham, his scholar? or of Hartgrave, in Brundly school, in the same county, but because he was the first did teach worthy Dr Whitaker? Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for anything so much as his scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus, their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas, his schoolmaster, that first instructed him.

24. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN
[*circa* 1650]

SOURCE: *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, written by his widow, Lucy.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling into loose great rings at the ends, his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thin, his mouth well made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well made; he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions; he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had a great love to music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he play'd masterly; he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, gravings, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as

the merit of the work—he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds; of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soon left it of; he was wonderful neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension; he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome; everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained; he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby two or three years after the war ended, but else for the latter half of his life, was healthy tho' tender; in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and toothaches, but then his spirits carried him through them; he was very patient under sickness or pain or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his judgment was

so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself, but his invention was so ready and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not talkative, yet free of discourse; of a very spare diet, not much given to sleep, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see anyone else so, in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him: to sum up therefore all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there awhile, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE

25. AN INTERVIEW WITH OLIVER CROMWELL [1654]

SOURCE: George Fox's *Journal*. Spelling modernised.

And so that night I was kept a prisoner at the Marshalsea; and the next morning by the sixth hour I was ready, and delivered to Captain Drury. And so I desired they would let me speak with Col. Hacker, and he had me to his bedside; and he was at me again to go home and keep no more meetings and I told him I could not submit to that. . . . Then he said, I must go before the Protector. So I kneeled on his Bedside and desired the Lord to forgive him. . . .

And so I was carried up by Captain Drury aforesaid from Leicester. . . . He brought me to London to the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing Cross. And I was moved

of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places as I went of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. . . .

And after a few days I was had before Oliver Cromwell by Captain Drury, and he brought me in before him before he was dressed. . . . When I came before him, I was moved to say "Peace be on this House," and I bid him keep in the fear of God that he might receive wisdom. . . . I spoke much to him of Truth, and he said we quarrelled with the priests, and I told him I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends. And such teachers and prophets and shepherds that the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles declared against. . . .

And several times he said it was very good and truth, and I told him that all Christendom (so called) had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit that they had that gave them forth. . . . Many more words I had with him; and many people began to come in that I drew a little backward, and as I was turning, he catched me by the hand and said these words, with tears in his eyes: "Come again to my House, for if thou and I were but an hour in a day together, we should be nearer one to the other," and that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. . . . And so I bid him hearken to God's voice . . . and if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. And he said it was true. And so I went out.

26. MAY DAY REJOICING [1654]

SOURCE: *Moderate Intelligencer.* (Quoted in Macfarlane and Thomson.)

(*a*) *Hyde Park, May 1st,* 1654.—This day there was a hurling of a great ball by fifty Cornish gentlemen of one side, and fifty on the other; one party played in red caps, and the other in white. There was present his highness the lord-protector, many of his privy council, and divers eminent gentlemen, to whose view was presented great

agility of body, and most neat and exquisite wrestling, at every meeting of one with the other, which was ordered with such dexterity, that it was to show more the strength, vigour, and nimbleness of their bodies than to endanger their persons. The ball they played withal was silver, and designed for that party which did win the goal.

(*b*) *Monday, 1st May.*—This day was more observed by people going a-maying than for divers years past; and, indeed, much sin committed by wicked meetings with fiddlers, drunkenness, ribaldry, and the like; great resort came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of coaches, and gallants in atttire, but most shameful powdered-hair men, and painted and spotted women. Some men played with a silver ball, and some took other recreation. But his highness the lord-protector went not thither, nor any of the lords of the Commonwealth, but were busy about the great affairs of the Commonwealth.

27. CROMWELL AS A COACH DRIVER

SOURCE: Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698–9.

The Duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Friesland coach-horses; with which taking the air in the Park, attended only with his secretary Thurlow, and a guard of Janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him; and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself: by which he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to meddle with those things wherein he had no experience.

28. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN USE IN 1656

SOURCE: *Commonplace Book of Sir Philip Leycester*, quoted in the Notes to Robert Laneham's letter. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. Ballad Society. 1890.

It will not be amisse here to insert the severall Kinds of Musicall Instruments now of most Vse in England, as they be now used, 1656. . . .

Of Single Wynd Instruments, the most excellent are the Cornet, the Shalme, and Sackbut.

The CORNET is about two foote in length; not so streight as the Shalme; but with a little bendinge or Incurvation; it is bored through & hath little holes at the side thereof, which beinge stopt with the fingers, gives the variety of Soundes; & yeildeth a shrill-quakinge-Sound, which is produced by the Art of the Mouth, as the Hunt's-man's Horne & Trumpet are caused by the blast of the mouth.

The SHALME is made of Wood & after the same manner of the Cornet, & about the same length, bored thorough also, with little holes at the side, to be stopt with the fingers, for distinction of Soundes. This is a streight Piece of Wood, & hath a Reede put into the Smaller end thereof (which is made artificially, & bound about the Lower end with a Thred) which with the blast of the mouth causeth a shrill Sound, & is done with lesse straininge than the Cornet, which hath no Reede, but the Sound thereof forced with the Mouth. The greater end of it is made in forme of a little Bell, like the end of a Trumpet.

The SACKBUT is made of Brasse or Alchimy[1] & gives distinction of Soundes, not by holes, as other Pipes, but by movinge the outward part of it higher or Lower; for there is a Devise vppon it, to be drawne vp & downe. The Sound of it is caused by the blast of the mouth; & it hath some resemblance to a Trumpet. This instrument giveth a Deepe Sound, & is to play the Basse-parte.

[1] Tin.

A Seventeenth Century Schoolroom

Stringed Instruments of the Seventeenth Century

1. *Viol* 2. *Cithern* 3. *Lute*
4. *Viol da gamba* 5. *Lute with additional harp-strings*

There are also of an inferiour kind, as FLUITS, RECORDERS, BAG-PIPES—& these last both greater & lesse—so called because they have bags fastened to the Pipe, which, beinge stuft with the wind of the Mouth, causeth the Sounde. But these Pipes are never vsed by any Artists in Musicke; but by the more Rusticall Sorte of People.

The Stringed Instruments now in vse are two-fold, either Gut-stringes or Wyre-stringes.

Instruments with Gut-stringes are of Three sortes.

1. The HARPE, which is made in forme of a Triangle, & hath the stringes open on both sides, for either hande to play with all; & is played vppon with the fingers of both handes.

2. The LUTE, which is made with a Round backe, like a halfe-Globe, the belly of it flat & even to the finger-board. This is played vppon with the fingers of the right hand & stoppinge the notes with the left hand on the finger-board. It hath sometymes 24 stringes, sometymes 19 stringes; and sometimes lesse, as pleaseth the Musitian to have it.

Of this kind is the THEORBO, beinge only a Basse-Lute: made larger to carry a Deepe Sounde.

3. The VIOLE: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, accordinge to its magnitude: These have onely Sixe Stringes a peece, and are played vppon with a Bowe.

Of this Sorte also is the VIOLIN, which hath but fowre stringes & is the least sort: which carryes an excellent Treble parte; save onely this hath no frets on the fingerboard (because of its littlenes) as the other Violes have; but the notes on this are strooke by the Ear.

Instruments with Wyre-stringes are of fowre sorts.

1. VIRGINALLS. These are made with Keyes, as the Organs: and indeed is nothinge else but a stringed Organ.

From these the HARPSICALLS and Double Harpsicalls are deduced; all made after the same manner.

2. ORPHARION: which is onely a Wyre-stringed Lute

save the forme of the backe of this is made more flat, the Lute more round: & from this the BANDORA (as we call it) somewhat larger; the ffrets on the finger-board of these beinge made of brasse, which is layd into the Wood; but the ffrets of the Lute and Violes are made of stringes tyed about the finger-board.

3. HARPE: which we usually call the IRISH HARPE, as most vsed by them, with Wyre-strings: the other called by us THE WELSH-HARPE, with Gut-stringes.

4. The PSITTYRNE; and from thence the GITTERNE.

[The Psittyrne] is not so apt for the voyce as the Lute or Viole, but yeilds a Sweete and Gentle Sound, which the name importeth; for ψιθύρα is a Greeke word, and commeth of ψίθυρος, which signifies 'a whisperinge sound'; like to which is the sound of this Instrument: some write it 'Citharen,'—but falsely,—for 'Psithyren,' &, by contraction, 'Psittyrne.' It contayneth fowre Course of stringes, as at this day we vse it, each Course being doubled, havinge two Stringes of one sound in each course; They are Wire Stringes; & is played vppon with a little peice of Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched. It is now usually taught by Letters, not by Notes of Musicke.

Like vnto this is the instrument we now vsually do call a GITTERNE, which indeed is onely a Treble Psittyrne, beinge somewhat lesse then the other, yieldinge a more Treble Smart sound, havinge the same number & the same Order of Wynd-strings, & playd vppon with a Quill, after the same order as the Psittyrne; onely some variation in the Tuninge, which may also be varyed in the Psittyrne at pleasure.

To these may be added the APOPREY, brought into England about 1644, which is playd on with two little sticks; in either hand; & hath Wyre-stringes, onely 4 Course.

These I thought good to mention here, that Posterity may know the difference of them, and likewise what new Inventions shall be found out afterwards.

29. THE FUNERAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL [1658]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1658, *Oct.* 22.—Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe like a king. The pendants and guidons [1] were carried by the officers of the army; the Imperial banners, achievements, etc., by the heraulds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour, armed cap-a-pie, and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mariners. In this equipage, they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.

Under date Jan. 30, 1661, Evelyn—with Royalist sympathies—writes:

30*th*.—This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators.

[1] A small flag or streamer.

THE RESTORATION

30. THE COFFEE-HOUSE [1659]

(a) *Pleasant Discourse*

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under date.

1659, *Jan.* 10.—To the Coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen; viz. Mr Harrington, Poultny, chairman, Gold, Dr Petty, etc., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. . . .

Jan. 17*th.*— . . . I went to the Coffee Club, and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman Government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of prosperity was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so to-morrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand, and the government in another.

1664, *Feb.* 3*rd.*—In Govent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house there, where I never was before: where Dryden the poet, I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr Hoole of our College. And, had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

(b) *An Attack on Coffee-Houses*

SOURCE: Contemporary pamphlet dated 1673. Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VI., 1810.

A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come,

after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: A rota-room, that like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling critics that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves twopence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same change, as at a 3d. ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories, and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloak takes upon him to transpose affairs both in Church and State, to show reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils. . . .

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveller; and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend nonconformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose an oglio of impertinence.

If any pragmatic, to show himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned, and all the rest flock round like smaller birds, to admire the gravity of the madge-howlet. They listen to him awhile with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention, but on the sudden fall

all a-yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry.

To still this bawling, up starts Captain All-man-sir, the man of mouth, with a face as blustering as that of Æolus and his four sons, in painting, and a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, hè begins you the story of a sea-fight . . . though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden. . . . He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette; where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, If this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch, horse and foot, by sea; he nicknames the Polish gentlemen, wherever he meets them, and enquires whether Gayland and Taffaletta be Lutherans or Calvinists? *Stilo novo* he interprets 'a vast *new style* or turnpike,' erected by his electoral highness on the borders of Westphalia, to keep Monsieur Turenne's cavalry from falling on his retreating troops; he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense: Morea he believes to be the country of the Moors, and Hungary a place where famine always keeps her court; nor is there anything more certain, than that he made a whole room of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*; not doubting but to have found them there, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia.

(c) *Coffee-Houses Vindicated.*

SOURCE: Contemporary pamphlet dated 1675. Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VI., 1810.

Though the happy Arabia, nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromatics and divers other rareties; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions: for since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those

things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucracy, and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of diseases, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights.

As for this salutiferous berry, of so general a use through all the regions of the East, it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying, attenuating, and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up all humours in the stomach. . . .

Man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative: where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another as he thinks fit.

Discourse is *pabulum animi, cos ingenii*; the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity; by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. *Loquere, ut te videam*, "Speak, that I may see thee," was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally, than here, amongst such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities?

. . . . . .

Upon the whole matter, spite of the idle sarcasms and

paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less truth than plainness, give this brief character to a *well-regulated* coffee-house . . . , that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity.

31. THE INTRODUCTION OF TEA

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

1660, *Sept. 25th.*—I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink), of which I never had drank before, and went away. . . .

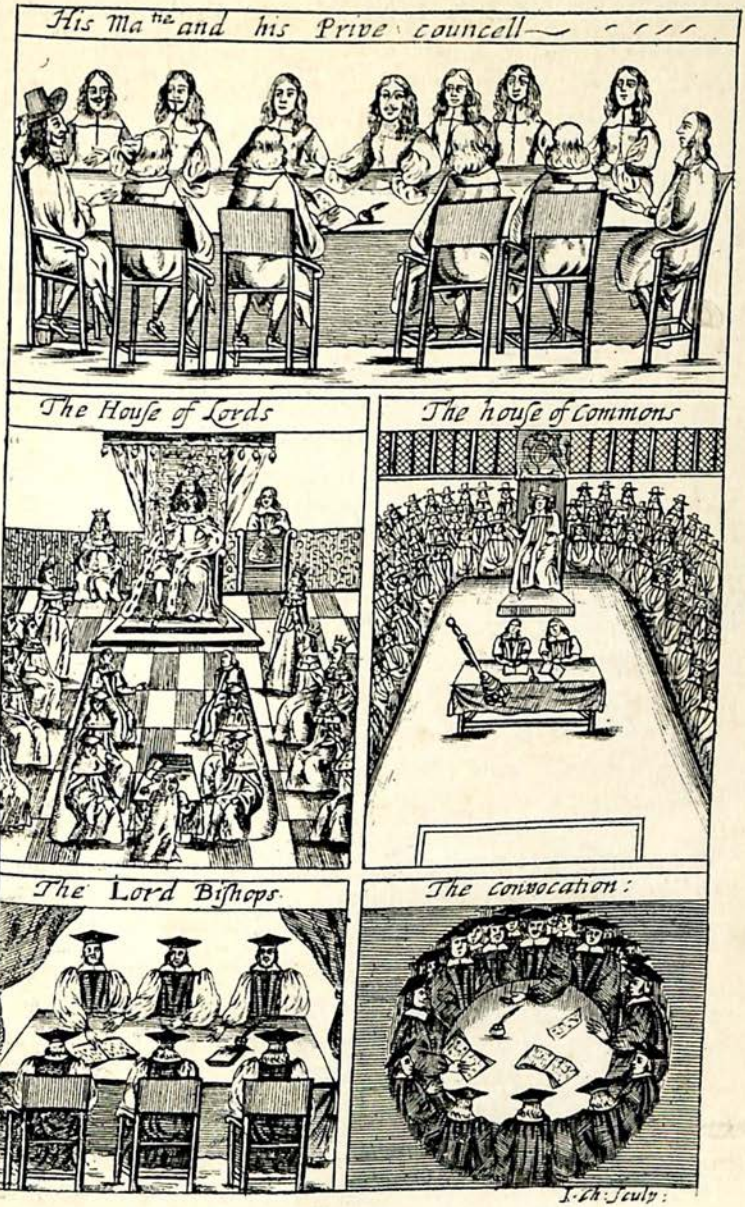
1667, *June 28th.*—Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold.

32. RESTORATION DAY [MAY 29TH, 1660]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1660, *May 29th.*—This day, his Majesty Charles II. came to London, after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being 17 years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of about 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting, with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies, in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles, clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies, all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the City, even from 2 in the afternoon till 9 at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God.



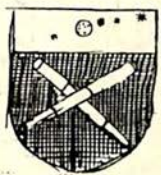
The Restoration Parliament

Armes & Motos proposd
for ye R. Society 1660

R SRS. E S SRS

Et Augebitur Scientia.

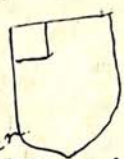
Omnia probate.



Quantum Nescimus.

Quis dicere Falsum — —
Audeat — 1. Geor.

Ad Majorem Lumen.



Nullius in verba

Rerum cognoscere Causas:

Experiendo:

Nullius in verba;

Evelyn.

Evelyn's Designs for the Arms of the Royal Society

And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a Restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation.

33. REJOICINGS AT THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. [1660]

SOURCE: Burnet's *History of My Own Times.*

With the restoration of the King, a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it at the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere, and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matters, to the profane mockers of true piety.

34. AN ENEMY TO CATS [1661]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary.* Under date.

1661, *September* 11*th.*—To Dr Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes; and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and so afterwards bury them; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered; that if the tip of the tail hangs out, he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper, which is very strange; and he tells me, that he do believe he hath killed above 100 cats.

35. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL [1661]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1661, *May* 18.—I heard and saw such exercises at the election of Scholars at Westminster School to be sent to the University, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonished me in such youths, with such readiness and wit, some of them not above 12 or 13 years of age. Pity it is, that what they attain here so ripely, they either do not retain, or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, though many of them do; and no less is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latin, so that out of England none were able to understand, or endure it. The Examinants, or Posers, were, Dr Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge; Dr Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr Pierson, Dr Allestree, Dean of Westminster, and any that would.

36. THE ROYAL SOCIETY [1661]

SOURCE: Wallis's *Account of Some Passages of his own Life*, quoted in Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, 1848.

About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our Universities), beside the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy, and other parts of human learning: and particularly of what hath been called the *New Philosophy* or *Experimental Philosophy*. We did by aggreements, divers of us, meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs; of which number were *Dr John Wilkins* (afterward *Bishop of Chester*), *Dr Jonathan Goddard*, *Dr George Ent*, *Dr Glisson*, *Dr Merret* (Drs in Physick), *Mr Samuel Foster*, then Professor

of Astronomy at Gresham College, *Mr Theodore Hank* (a German of the Palatinate, and then resident in London, who, I think, gave the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings), and many others.

These meetings we held sometimes at *Dr Goddard's* lodgings in *Wood Street* (or some convenient place near), on occasion of his keeping an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes and microscopes; sometimes at a convenient place in *Cheapside*, and sometimes at *Gresham College*, or some place near adjoyning.

Our business was (precluding matters of Theology and state affairs) to discourse and consider of *Philosophical Enquiries*, and such as related thereunto: as *physick*, *anatomy*, *geometry*, *astronomy*, *navigation*, *staticks*, *magneticks*, *chymicks*, *mechanicks*, and natural *experiments*; with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of *the circulation of the blood*, *the valves in the veins*, *the venæ lacteæ*, *the lymphatick vessels*, *the Copernican hypothesis*, *the nature of comets and new stars*, *the satellites of Jupiter*, *the oval shape* (as it then appeared) *of Saturn*, *the spots in the Sun and its turning on its own axis*, *the inequalities and selenography of the moon*, *the several phases of Venus and Mercury*, *the improvement of telescopes*, *and grinding of glasses for that purpose*, *the weight of air*, *the possibility*, *or impossibility of Vacuities*, *and nature's abhorrence thereof*, *the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver*, *the descent of heavenly bodies*, *and the degrees of acceleration therein*; and divers other things of like nature. Some of which were then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and imbraced as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called *The New Philosophy*, which from the times of *Galileo* at *Florence*, and *Sir Francis Bacon* (*Lord Verulam*) in England hath been much cultivated in *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in *England*. . . .

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1661, 6 *Jan.*—I was now chosen (and nominated by His Majesty for one of the Council) by suffrage of the rest of the members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gresham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen. This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had been begun some years before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

Feb. 13.—I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gresham College, where were showed him various experiments *in vacuo*, and other curiosities.

May 14.—His Majesty was pleased to discourse with me concerning several particulars relating to our Society, and the planet Saturn, etc., as he sate at supper in the with-drawing-room to his bed-chamber.

Nov. 20.—At the Royal Society, Sir William Petty proposed divers things for the improvement of shipping; a versatile keel that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead.

Dec. 3.—By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly, an order was made and registered, that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor, before my Traduction of Naudaeus. Too great an honour for a trifle.

1662, *May* 7.—I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried several experiments in Mr Boyle's [1] *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm, upon exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins: he, drawing it out, we found it all speckled.

August 13.—Our Charter being now passed under the

[1] The Hon. Robert Boyle, son of first Earl of Cork. One of the first members of the Society at its institution. These experiments led to "Boyle's Law."

broad Seal, constituting us a Corporation under the name of "*The Royal Society* for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment," was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoon, being very large.

21*st.*—I was admitted and then sworn one of the Council of the Royal Society, being nominated in his Majesty's original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of this Society, and making laws and statutes conducible to its establishment and progress, for which we now set apart every Wednesday morning till they were all finished. Lord Viscount Brouncker (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Majesty, our Founder, nominated our first President. The King gave us the armes of England to be borne in a canton in our arms, and sent us a mace of silver gilt of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Majesty, to be borne before our President on meeting days. It was brought by Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of his Majesty's Jewel-house.

29*th.*—The Council and Fellows of the Royal Society went in a body to Whitehall to acknowledge his Majesty's royal grace in granting our Charter, and vouchsafing to be himself our Founder; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and we all kissed his hand.

Next day, we went in like manner with our address to my Lord Chancellor, who had much promoted our patent; he received us with extraordinary favour.

37. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS [1664]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under date.

(1) *Tennis*

1664, *Jan.* 4.—To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at Tennis and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled, without any cause at all, was a loathsome

sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well, and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly.

(2) *Cock-Fighting*

1663, *Dec.* 21.—To Shoe Lane to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a spot I was never at in my life: but, Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament man, by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor, to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it. It is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at a time and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle; so that one of them will lose 10 or 20l. at a meeting.

(3) *Fencing*

1663, *June* 1.—I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand Maypole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three boutes at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge

than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every boute.

(4) *Angling*

1667, *March* 18*th*.—. . . This day Mr Caesar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minnikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

(5) *Foot-Racing*

1663, *July* 30*th*.—The towne talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

(6) *At the Beare-Garden*

1666, *August* 14*th*.—After dinner, with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-Garden; where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs—one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us, and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager; which was strange sport for a gentleman; where they drank wine and drank Mercer's health first; which I pledged with my hat off. We supped at home, and very merry. And then about nine to Mrs Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of

serpents and rockets; and there mighty merry, my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright, till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another, and the people over the way. And, at last, our businesses being most spent, we went into Mrs Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing, W. Batelier dancing well; and dressing, him and I, and one Mr Banister, who, with my wife, come over also with us, like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jigg; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on perriwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

Aug. 15*th.*—Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock. . . .

1667, *May* 27*th.*—. . . Abroad and stopped at Beare-garden stairs, there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the battle broke up, and so I away.

(7) *Racing at Newmarket*

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1671, *Oct.* 9.—I went, after evening-service, to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr Treasurer, to Newmarket, where the King then was, in his coach with 6 brave horses, which we changed thrice, first, at Bishop-Stortford and last, at Chesterford; so, by night, we got to Newmarket, where Mr Henry Jermain (nephew to the Earl of St Alban's) lodged me very civilly. We proceeded immediately to Court, the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports. Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's; and, the next day, after dinner, I was on the heath, where I saw the great match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King, and to Mr Eliot of the Bedchamber, many thousands being spectators; a more signal race had not been run for many years.

Oct. 16*th.*—Came all the great men from Newmarket. . . . In the morning, we went hunting and hawking; in the afternoon, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrel, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador, Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladies to take the air, and now and then to hunting.

(8) *Witnessing Public Executions*

1664, *Jan.* 21*st.*—Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the

wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none come, and at last was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looked man he was, and kept his countenance to the end: I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 or 14,000 people in the street.

(9) *Gambling*

1668, *Jan.* 1*st.*—. . . By and by I met with Mr Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do what I never can remember that I did, go to see the gaming at the Groome-Porter's, I having in my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken, in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there, . . . he did lead me thither; where, after staying an hour, they begun to play, at about eight at night. . . . And lastly to see the formality of the groome-porter, who is their judge of all disputes in play and all quarrels that may arise therein, and how his under officers are there to observe true play at each table, and to give new dice, is a consideration I never could have thought had been in the world, had I not now seen it. . . . And so I, having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, . . . went away.

(10) *Pell-Mell*

1664, *Jan.* 4.—. . . Afterwards to St James' Park, seeing people play at Pell-Mell; where it pleased me mightly to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions, for suffering his man, a spruce blade, to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall.

38. HOW A GREAT SCULPTOR ROSE TO FAME [1671]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1671, *Jan.* 18*th.*—This day, I first acquainted His Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbons [Grinling Gibbons] whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish [Deptford], near Sayes Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window, I perceived him carving that large cartoon, or crucifix, of Tintoretto, a copy of which I had myself brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactness, I never had before seen in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I had found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made known to some great man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered, he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece was more than 100 figures of men, etc. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreet in his discourse. There was only an old woman in his house. So, desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his work to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty that he had never seen anything approach it, and that he

would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himself go see him. This was the first notice his Majesty ever had of Mr Gibbons.

39. THE THEATRE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

18*th August*, 1660.—Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpit play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, "The Loyall Subject," where one Kinaston, a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life.

11*th October*.—To walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr Greatorex brought, which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr Salisbury, who took Mr Creed and me to the Cockpit to see "The Moor of Venice," which was well done. Burt acted the Moor; by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me called out, to see Desdemona smothered.

20*th November*.—Mr Shepley and I to the new playhouse near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of "Beggar's Bush" was newly begun; and so we went in, and saw it well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone, who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princess at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play, where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop, and made the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours.

4th November, 1661.—With my wife to the Opera, where we saw "The Bondman," which of old we both did so doate on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, having too great expectations, as formerly at Salisbury Court. But for Betterton, he is called by us both the best actor in the world,

March 1, 1662.—To the Opera, and there saw "Romeo and Juliet," the first time it was ever acted. . . . I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less.

29th September.—To Mr Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also, and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. To the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's Dream," which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.

October 2.—At night, hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit, and my Lord Sandwich, who come to town last night, at it, I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in the wall, and so crept through a narrow place, and come into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queene, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finaly dressed. Then we saw "The Cardinall," a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that come in with me into the box were all Frenchmen, that could speak no English; but Lord! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them, that understood both French and English, to make her tell them what the actors said.

17th November.—To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. . . . At White Hall by appointment; Mr Creed

carried my wife and I to the Cockpitt, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and "The Scornfull Lady" well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock; and, it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home.

8th January, 1668.—Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called "The Adventures of Five Hours," at the Duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke, I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit, almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower formes, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall.

28th May.—By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw "Hamlett" done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid, but neither spoke, danced, nor sung; which I was sorry for.

29th.—This day is kept strictly as a holy-day, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill temper of the City, at this time, either to religion in general, or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and these poor people. . . . To the Duke's house, and there saw "The Slighted Mayde," wherein Gosnell acted Pyramena, a great part, and did it very well. . . . Then with Creed to see the German Princesse, at the Gate-house, at Westminster.

12th June.—To the Royal Theatre; and there saw "The Committee," a merry but indifferent play, only Lacy's

part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the house began to fill, she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself.

13th.—To the Royal Theatre. . . . In our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also.

27th January, 1664.—At the Coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue and William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear. . . . To Covent Garden, to buy a maske at the French house, Madame Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at "The Indian Queene," which for show, they say, exceeds "Henry the Eighth." Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

February 1.—Mr Pierce tells me how the King, coming the other day to his Theatre to see "The Indian Queene," which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he come; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York: which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as everybody else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw "The Indian Queene" acted; which indeed is a most pleasant show, and

beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the ryme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's: but, however, we come home mightily contented.

June 1.—To the King's house, and saw "The Silent Woman," but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.

2*d August.*—To the King's playhouse, and there saw "Bartholomew Fayre," which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a Nursery; that is, is going to build a house in Moorefields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as is in Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4*th.*—To a play at the King's house, "The Rivall Ladys," a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne, after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him.

4*th October.*—After dinner, to a play, to see "The Generall"; which is so dull and so ill acted, that I think

it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley: who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dullness of the poet and badness of the action, and that most pertinently; which I was mightily taken with.

19th March, 1666.—After dinner, we walked to the King's playhouse, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden-leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a crown, would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's. But then again to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty.

7th December, 1666.—To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy," a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

23d January, 1667.—To the King's house, and there saw "The Humerous Lieutenant," a silly play, I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here, in a box above, we spied Mrs Pierce; and, going out, they called us, and so we staid for them; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to

us Nelly, a most pretty woman, who acted the great part of Coelia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs Hall, which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty: she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to to-morrow for "The Goblins," a play of Suckling's, not acted these twenty-five years; which was pretty. . . . In our way home, we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny; which put me into a great fright.

4th February.—Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius," an excellent play, to my extraordinary content; and the more from the house being very full, and great company; among others, Mrs Stewart, very fine, with her loeks done up with puffes, as my wife calls them: and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it; but my wife do mightily—but it is only because she sees it is the fashion.

18th.—To the King's house to "The Mayd's Tragedy"; but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then

Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

7th March.—To the Duke's playhouse, and saw "The English Princesse, or Richard the Third"; a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boys' clothes; and the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boys' clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other. . . . This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.

15th April.—To the King's house by chance, where a new play: so full as I never saw it; I forced to stand all the while close to the very door till I took cold, and many people went away for want of room. The King, and Queen, and Duke of York and Duchess there, and all the Court, and Sir W. Coventry. The play called, "The Change of Crownes"; a play of Ned Howard's, the best I ever saw at that house, being a great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places, and doing every thing for money. . . . Thence I to my new bookseller's, and there bought *Hooker's Polity*, the new edition, and *Dugdale's History of the Inns of Court*, of which there was but a few saved out of the fire. . . .

16th.—Home to dinner, and in haste to carry my wife to see the new play I saw yesterday, she not knowing it. But there, contrary to expectation, find "The Silent Woman." . . .

Knipp tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken

by Lacy's part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone went and got leave for them to act again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very fine and witty. I never was more taken with a play than I am with this "Silent Woman," as old as it is, and as often as I have seen it. There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays. . . . Pierce told us the story how, in good earnest, the King is offended with the Duke of Richmond's marrying, and Mrs Stewart sending the King his jewels again. As he tells it, it is the noblest romance and example of a brave lady that ever I read in my life.

16*th August.*—My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, "The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marall"; a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden. It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The house full, and in all things of mighty content to me.

17*th.*—To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight." I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon stage; and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garbe of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted, but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth; and to see her

come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage.

5th October.—To the King's house: and there, going in, met with Knipp, and she took us up into . . . the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit: and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me, through all her part of "Flora's Figarys," which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them . . .; And how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a show they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty; the other house carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said, now-a-days, to have generally most company, as being better players. By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

16th.—To the Duke of York's house; and I was vexed to see Young, who is a bad actor at best, act Macbeth, in the room of Betterton, who, poor man! is sick: but, Lord! what a prejudice it wrought in me against the whole play.

19th.—Full of my desire of seeing my Lord Orrery's new play this afternoon at the King's house, "The Black Prince," the first time it is acted; where, though we came by two o'clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but were forced to go into one of the upper boxes, at 4*s.* a piece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life. And in the same box came, by and by, behind me, my Lord Barkeley and his lady; but I did not turn my face to them to be known, so that I was excused from giving them my seat; and this pleasure I had, that from this place the scenes do appear very fine indeed, and much better than in the pit. The house infinite full, and the King and Duke of York there. . . . The whole house was mightily pleased all along till the reading of a letter, which was so long and so unnecessary that

they frequently began to laugh, and to hiss twenty times, that, had it not been for the King's being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage.

28th December.—To the King's house, and there saw "The Mad Couple," which is but an ordinary play; but only Nell's and Hart's mad parts are most excellent done, but especially her's: which makes it a miracle to me to think how ill she do any serious part, as the other day, just like a fool or changeling; and, in a mad part, do beyond imitation almost. It pleased us mightily to see the natural affection of a poor woman, the mother of one of the children brought on the stage: the child crying, she by force got upon the stage, and took up her child and carried it away off of the stage from Hart.

December 2, 1668.—Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice, and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Usurper"; a pretty good play, in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly.

3d.—At noon home to dinner, and then abroad again, with my wife, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers"; a mean play, I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy, who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cozen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

19th January, 1669.—To the King's house, to see "Horace"; this the third day of its acting—a silly tragedy; but Lacy

hath made a farce of several dances—between each act, one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow.

40. TUNBRIDGE WELLS

SOURCE: Lord North, *A Forest of Varieties.*

The use of Tunbridge and Epsom waters for health and cure, I first made known (1606) to London and the King's people: the Spau (Spa) is a chargeable and inconvenient journey to sick bodies, besides the many it carries out of the kingdom, and the inconvenience to religion. Much more I could say, but I rather hint than handle—rather open a door to a large prospect than give it.

SOURCE: A letter written by Sir John Chamberlain, a courtier of James I., dated Aug. 23, 1619.

. . . The waters at Tunbridge, for these 3 or 4 years have been much frequented, especially this summer, by many great persons, insomuch that they which have seen both, say it is not inferior to the Spa for good company, numbers of people, and other appurtenances.

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary.* Under date.

1661, *Aug.* 15.—I went to Tunbridge Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greatly admired the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certain birch-trees among the rocks.

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary.* Under date.

1663, *July* 22.—To-morrow the King and Queen for certain go down to Tunbridge; but the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

1666, *July* 22.—The Queen and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

31*st*.—The Court empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge.

SOURCE: Count de Grammont: *Memoirs* (1664).

The Court set out . . . to pass nearly two months in the most simple and rustic, but at the same time the most agreeable and entertaining place in all Europe.

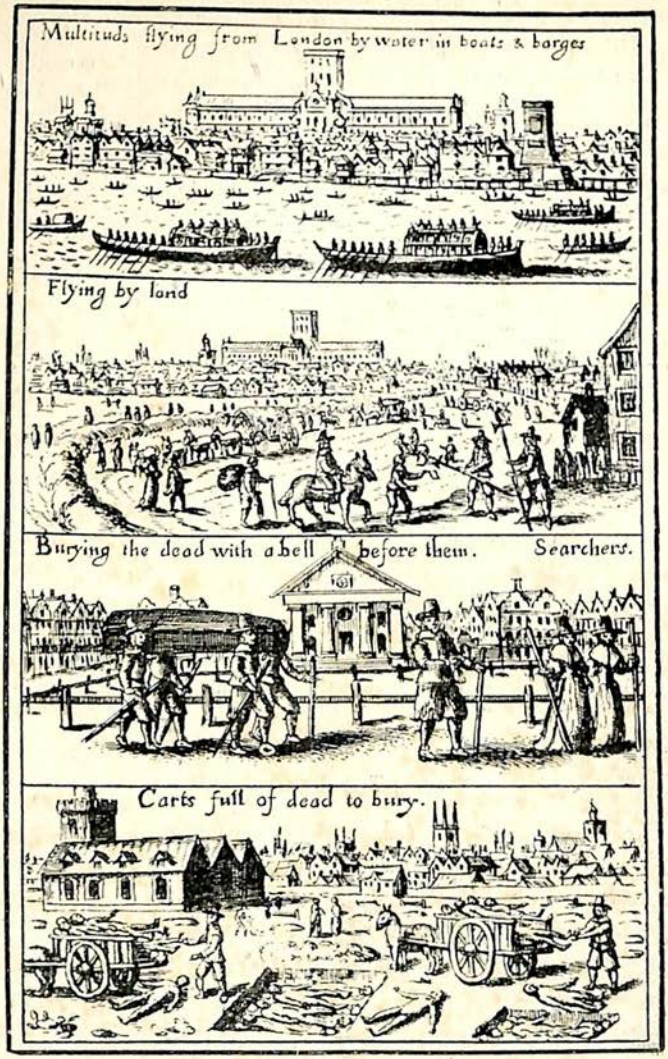
Tunbridge is at the same distance from London as Fontainbleau from Paris. All the handsome and gallant of both sexes meet here in the season for drinking the waters. The company is always numerous and always select: and as those who seek only to amuse themselves are always numerically in ascendancy over those who resort thither only from necessity, everything breathes pleasure and joy.

The visitors lodge in little dwellings, clean and convenient, separated from one another and scattered everywhere within half a league of the Wells. In the morning they assemble at the spot where the springs are situated. There is a fine avenue of shady trees, beneath which the visitors walk while they drink the waters. At one side of this avenue stretches a long row of shops, furnished with all sorts of elegant trifles, lace, stockings, and gloves, where you may amuse yourself as at the Fair. On the other side of the avenue the market is held; and as every one goes there to choose and buy his own provisions, you see nothing exposed for sale which could occasion disgust. Here are young countrywomen, fair and fresh-looking, with white linen, little straw hats, and neat shoes and stockings, who sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit.

You may here enjoy as good living as you wish.

Here is playing for high stakes, and love-making in abundance. When evening comes, every one quits his little

A Scene from *The Humorous Lieutenant*


Multitudes flying from London by water in boats & barges
Flying by land
Burying the dead with a bell before them.
Searchers.
Carts full of dead to bury.

The Great Plague

place to assemble in the bowling-green. There in the open air is dancing for those who like it upon turf smoother than the finest carpet in the world.

41. THE GREAT PLAGUE [1665]

SOURCE: Pepys's *Diary*. Under dates.

June 7, 1665.—The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us!" writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell and to chaw, which took away the apprehension.

June 10.—In the evening home to supper; and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City; but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr Burnett, in Fenchurch Street: which, in both points, troubles me mightily.

July 12*th*.—A solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us.

July 13*th*.—Above 700 died of the plague this week.

July 20*th*.—Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere, there dying 1089 of the plague this week. My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me.

July 21*st*.—Late in my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

July 22.—I to Fox-hall [Vauxhall], where to the Spring garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of any body to come thither, . . . By coach home,

not meeting with but two coaches and but two carts from White Hall to my own house, that I could observe; and the streets mighty thin of people. . . .

August 3.—A maid servant of Mr John Wright's . . . falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who, being once absent, the maid got out of the house at the window, and run away. The nurse coming and knocking, and, having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr Wright so; who and his lady were in great straight what to do to get her buried. At last, resolved to go to Burntwood [Brentwood], hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not: so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frighted him worse than before; and was forced to send people to take her, which he did; and they got one of the pest-coaches and put her into it, to carry her to a pest-house. And, passing in a narrow lane, Sir Anthony Browne, with his brother and some friends in the coach, met this coach with the curtains drawn close. The brother, being a young man, and believing there might be some lady in it that would not be seen, and the way being narrow, he thrust his head out of his own into her coach, and to look, and there saw somebody look very ill, and in a silk dress, and stunk mightily; which the coachman also cried out upon. And presently they come up to some people that stood looking after it, and told our gallants that it was a maid of Mr Wright's carried away sick of the plague; which put the young gentleman into a fright had almost cost him his life, but is now well again.

August 20.—So away to Branford; and there, at the inn that goes down to the water-side, I 'light and paid off my post-horses, and so slipped on my shoes, and laid my things by, the tide not serving, and to church, where a dull sermon, and many Londoners. After church, to my inn, and eat

and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got, between nine and ten, to Queenhive, very dark; and I could not get my waterman to go elsewhere, for fear of the plaguè. Thence with a lanthorn, in great fear of meeting of dead corpses, carrying to be buried; but blessed be God! met none, but did see now and then a link, which is the mark of them, at a distance. So got safe home about 10 o'clock, my people not all abed, and after supper I weary to bed.

August 21. . . . [At Greenwich].—Messengers went to get a boat for me, to carry me to Woolwich, but all to no purpose; so I was forced to walk it in the dark, at ten o'clock at night, with Sir J. Minnes's George with me, being mightily troubled for fear of the doggs at Coome farme, and more for fear of rogues by the way, and yet more because of the plague which is there, which is very strange, it being a single house, all alone from the town, but it seems they use to admit beggars, for their own safety, to lie in their barns, and they brought it to them.

August 30.—Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerke, who, upon my asking how the plague goes, told me it encreases much, and much in our parish; for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six: which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places; and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth, and walked towards Moorefields to see, God forgive my presumption! whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord! how every body's looks, and discourse in the street, is of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.

September 8.—Up, and put on my coloured silk suit very fine, and my new periwigg, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when

I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwiggs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. . . . I up to the vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but, Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious [Gracechurch] Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich; where, upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town.

October 16.—I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor, sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, every body talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me, that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead: but there are great hopes of a decrease this week; God send it!

December 31.—My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cozen Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such as I know very well, dead; yet,

to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to publick matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

42. RICHARDSON THE FAMOUS FIRE-EATER [1672]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1672, *Oct.* 8.—I took leave of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now Ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester House, and afterwards sent for Richardson, the famous Fire-eater. He devoured brimstone on glowing coals before us, chewing and swallowing them; he melted a beer-glass and eat it quite up; then, taking a live coal on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flamed and sparkled in his mouth, and so remained till the oyster gaped and was quite boiled. Then, he melted pitch and wax and sulphur, which he drank down as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth a good while; he also took up a thick piece of iron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing-boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it between his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone; but this, I observed, he cared not to hold very long; then he stood on a small pot, and, bending his body, took a glowing iron with his mouth from between his feet, without touching the pot, or ground with his hands; with divers other prodigious feats.

43. THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON [1666]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under dates.

1666, *Sept.* 2.—This fatal night, about ten, began the deplorable fire near Fish-street, in London.

3.—I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing,

after dinner, I took coach with my wife and son and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole City in dreadful flames neare the water-side; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed: and so returned exceeding astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the City burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Corn-hill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-street, Fenchurch-street, Gracious-street, and so along to Baynard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St Paul's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency, or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it; so that there was nothing heard, or seen, but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, Exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat with a long set of fair and warm weather had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here, we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other side, the carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were

strewed with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happly the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor can be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame! The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus, I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus, I returned home.

Sept. 4.—The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet Street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paul's-Chain, Watling Street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the almighty power of God was able to stop them; for vain was the help of man.

5.—It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh! the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleased his Majesty to command me among the rest to look after the quenching of Fetter-Lane end, to preserve (if possible) that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the gentlemen took their several posts, some at one part, and some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across), and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines. This some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved nearly the whole City, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, etc., would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was, therefore, now commanded to be practised, and my concern being particularly for the Hospital of St Bartholomew, near Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now pleased God, by abating the wind, and by industry of the people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther then the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield, north: but continued all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despair; it also brake out again in the Temple; but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

The coal and wood-wharfs and magazines of oil, rosin, etc., did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little

before I had dedicated to his Majesty and published,[1] giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the City, was looked on as a prophecy.

The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag, or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition, I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine who, in the midst of all this ruin, was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

Sept. 6, *Thursday.*—I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custody, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseized houses. It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen; by which he showed his affection to his people and gained theirs. Having, then, disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I returned to Whitehall, where I dined at Mr Offley's, the groom-porter, who was my relation.

7.—I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London Bridge, through the late Fleete Street, Ludgate Hill, by St Paul's, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, etc., with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was: the ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the meantime, his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the

[1] The *Fumifugium*.

houses about the graff, which being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

At my return, I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church, St Paul's, now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repaired by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced! It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone, flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than 6 acres by measure) was totally melted; the ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St Faith's, which, being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the East end was untouched, and among the divers monuments, the body of one Bishop remained intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable Church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near 100 more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, etc., melted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers' Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest or the Companies' Halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did

not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. The people, who now walked about the ruins, appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather, in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thomas Gresham's statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the King's, since the Conquest, were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornhill, and Queen Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the city streets, hinges, bars, and gates of prisons, were many of them melted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrower streets, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapour, continued so intense, that my hair was almost singed, and my feet unsufferably surbated. The bye-lanes and narrower streets were quite filled up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly known were he was, but by the ruins of some church or hall, that had some remarkable tower, or pinnacle, remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief, by proclamation for the country to come in, and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and the Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the City. There was, in truth, some days before great suspicion of those two nations

joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense, or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole Court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards, to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the City, where such as had friends, or opportunity, got shelter for the present; to which his Majesty's proclamation also invited them.

Still, the plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

10.—I went againe to the ruins; for it was now no longer a city.

Sept. 13.—I presented his Majesty with a survey of the ruins, and a plot for a new City, with a discourse on it; whereupon, after dinner, his Majesty sent for me into the Queen's bed-chamber, her Majesty and the Duke onely being present; they examined each particular, and discoursed on them for near an hour, seeming to be extremely pleased with what I had so early thought on. The Queen was now in her cavalier riding-habit, hat and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the air.

16.—I went to Greenewich Church, where Mr Plume preached very well from this text: "Seeing, then, all these things shall be dissolved," etc., taking occasion from the late unparalelled conflagration to remind us how we ought to walk more holy in all manner of conversation.

27.—Dined at Sir Wm. D'Oyly's, with that worthy gentleman, Sir John Holland, of Suffolk.

Oct. 10.—This day was ordered a general Fast through the Nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and warr, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted; but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute Court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assemblie, where our Doctor preached on Luke xix. 41: piously applying it to the occasion. After which, was a collection for the distressed losers in the late fire.

44. THE POWER AND WEALTH OF ENGLAND [1677]

SOURCE: Sir W. Petty's *Political Arithmetic*, published in 1690; spelling modernised.

That the power and wealth of England hath increased this last forty years.

It is not much to be doubted, but that the territories under the king's dominions have increased; forasmuch as New England, Virginia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, Tangier and Bombay, have since that time, been either added to His Majesty's territories, or improved from a desert condition, to abound with people, buildings, shipping, and the production of many useful commodities.

And as for the land of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as it is not less in quantity, than it was forty years since; so it is manifest that by reason of the draining of fens, watering of dry grounds, improving of forests, and commons, making of heathy and barren grounds, to bear sainfoin and clover grass, meliorating, and multiplying several sorts of

fruits and garden-stuff, making some rivers navigable, etc.; I say it is manifest, that the land in its present condition, is able to bear more provision, and commodities, than it was forty years ago.

Secondly, although the People in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which have extraordinarily perished by the Plague, and Sword, within this last forty years do amount to about 300,000, above what have died in the ordinary way: yet the ordinary increase by generation of 10,000,000 which doubles in 200 years, as hath been shown by the observators upon the bills of mortality, may in forty years (which is a fifth part of the same time) have increased one-fifth part of the whole number, or 2,000,000. . . .

As for Housing, the streets of London itself speaks it, I conceive it is double in value in that city, to what it was forty years since; and for housing in the country, they have increased at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, Cowes; Dublin, Kinsale, Londonderry and Coleraine in Ireland, far beyond the proportion of what I can learn have been dilapidated in other places. For in Ireland, where the ruin was greatest, the housing (taking all together) is now more valuable than forty years ago, nor is this to be doubted, since housing is now more splendid, than in those days, and the number of dwellers is increased, by near one-fifth part; as on the last paragraph is set forth.

As for Shipping, His Majesty's Navy is now triple, or quadruple, to what it was forty years since, and before the *Sovereign* was built. . . .

Besides there are employed in the Guinea and American trade, above 40,000 ton of shipping per annum; which trade in those days was inconsiderable. . . .

Moreover if rented lands and houses, have increased; and if trade hath increased also: it is certain that money which payeth those rents, and driveth on trade, must have increased also.

Lastly, I leave it to the consideration of all observers, whether the number, and splendour of Coaches, Equipage, and Household Furniture, hath not increased, since that time: to say nothing of the Postage of Letters, which have increased from one to twenty, which argues the increase of business, and negotiation. . . .

45. FORMATION OF THE GRENADIERS [1678]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1678, 29 *June*.—Returned with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence, at least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole armie in battalia; a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called *Grenadiers*, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenados, every one having a pouch full; they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red.

46. THE PENNY POST [1685]

SOURCE: Misson's *Travels over England*. (English edition 1719.)

I.

Every two hours you may write to any part of the City . . . , or Suburbs, he that receives it pays a Penny, and you give nothing when you put it into the Post; but when you write into the Country, both he that writes and he that receives pay each a Penny. It costs no more for any Bundle weighing but a Pound, than for a small letter, provided the Bundle is not worth more than ten shillings. You may safely send Money, or any other thing of Value, by this Conveyance,

if you do but take care to give the Office an Account of it. It was one Mr William Dockwra [1] that set up this new Post, about the beginning of the Reign of King Charles II., and at first enjoy'd the Profits himself; but the Duke of York, who had then the Revenue of the General Post, commenc'd a Suit against him, and united the Penny-Post to the other.

II.

SOURCE: Defoe's *Tour Through Great Britain.*

The Penny-post is a branch of it [The Post Office], and a most useful addition to trade and business: for by it letters are delivered at the remotest corners of the town, almost as soon as they could be sent by a messenger, and that from four, five, six to eight times a day, according as the distance of the place makes it practicable: insomuch that you may send a letter from Limehouse in the East, to the farther part of Westminster, for a penny, several times in the same day; and to the neighbouring villages, as Kensington, Hammersmith, Chiswick, etc., Westward: Newington, Islington, Kentishtown, Hampstead, Holloway, Highgate, etc., Northward; to Newington-butts, Camberwell, etc., Southward; and to Stepney, Poplar, Bow, Stratford, Deptford, Greenwich, etc., Eastward, once a day.

Nor are you tied up to a single piece of paper, as in the General Post Office; but any packet under four ounces goes at the same price.

47. FAIR ON THE FROZEN THAMES [1684]

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary.* Under date.

1684, *Jan.* 9.—I went across the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to bear not only streets of booths, in

[1] This is a mistake. Robert Murray, an upholsterer, originated the idea of a Penny Post in London in 1681; Dockwra's system was established in 1683.

Officer Pikeman Musketeer

Grenadier Guards, 1660

CHARLES, KING.
JAMES DUKE.
KATHARINE, QUEEN.
MARY DUTCHESS.
ANN, PRINCESSE
GEORGE, PRINCE.
HANS IN KELDER.

London: Printed by *G: Croom* on the ICE, on the River of *Thames*, *January* 31. 1684.

HENRY, Earl of Clarendon.
FLORA, Countess of Clarendon.
EDWARD, Lord Cornbury.

London: Printed by *G. Croom*, on the ICE, on the River of *Thames*, *February* 2. 1684.

Frost Fair on the Thames, 1684

which they roasted meat, and had divers shops of wares, quite across as in a town, but coaches, carts, and horses passed over.

16*th.*—The Thames was filled with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the City.

24*th.*—The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing-press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames; this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, etc. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach-races, puppet-plays and interludes, cooks, tippling . . . so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessells could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. Many parks of deer were destroyed, and all sorts of fuel so dear, that there were great contributions to preserve the poor alive. Nor was this severe weather much less intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spain and the most Southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and

divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

48. AN OLD-TIME GARDEN [1685].

SOURCE: Evelyn's *Diary*. Under date.

1685, *Oct.* 22.—I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield in Berks . . . this house is after the ancient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up ancient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as it is possible to make a flat by art and industry, and no mean expense, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in the flowery part, and my lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seen a seat which shows more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweet shrubbs, that it perfumes the air. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchen-garden full of the most desireable plants; two very noble orangeries well furnished; but, above all, the canal and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carp, bream, and tench, I never saw any thing approaching it. We had at every meal carp and pike of size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was, to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a-piece. The waters are flagged about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has

hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certain sweet willow and other exotics: also a very fine bowling-green, meadow, pasture, and wood; in a word, all that can render a country-seat delightful.

49. SCENES FROM THE TRIAL OF ALICE LISLE [1685]

SOURCE: *State Trials.*

Alice Lisle was the daughter and heiress of Sir White Bechenshaw of Moyles Court, Ellingham, Hants, the scene of the principal facts referred to in this trial. . . . In 1630 she became the second wife of John Lisle; he was called to the bar, and became a bencher of the Middle Temple. He sat in the Long Parliament for Winchester, was one of the managers of Charles I.'s trial, and is said to have drawn up the form of the sentence. He became President of the High Court of Justice in 1654, sat in the Parliament of that year, and was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer. He appears to have been a consistent follower of Cromwell, and became a member of his House of Lords in 1657. He left England on the Restoration and fled to Lausanne, where he was murdered by an Irish Royalist in 1664. . . . Alice Lisle, commonly called Lady Lisle, was tried for high treason at Winchester on 27th August 1685, before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, during his notorious 'Bloody Assize.' The charge against her was that knowing one George Hicks, a popular dissenting minister, to have been in Monmouth's army at Sedgemoor, she entertained and concealed him in her house at Moyles Court. To convict her it was necessary to prove that Hicks had been in Monmouth's army, that she knew it, and that she entertained and concealed him. The prosecution was conducted by Pollexfen, Mundy and Corriton, as far at least as it was not conducted by Jeffreys. Lady Lisle, according to the custom of the time, was not allowed counsel, though no

doubt she had opportunities for receiving legal advice during the course of the trial.

. . . . . .

Mrs Lisle's Defence

Mrs Lisle is then called upon for her defence, and proceeds to say that had she been tried in London Lady Abergavenny and other persons of quality could have testified with what detestation she had spoken of the rebellion, and that she had been in London till Monmouth was beheaded. She had denied Nelthorp's being in the house because of her fear of the soldiers,

who were very rude and violent, and could not be restrained by their officers from robbery and plundering my house. And I beseech your lordship to make that construction of it; and I humbly beg of your lordship not to harbour an ill opinion of me, because of those false reports that go about of me relating to my carriage towards the old king, that I was any ways consenting to the death of King Charles I., for, my lord, that is as false as God is true; my lord, I was not out of my chambers all the day in which that king was beheaded, and I believe I shed more tears for him than any woman then living did. . . .

She did not know Nelthorp, and only took Hicks because he was a nonconformist minister, and there being warrants out against all such, she was willing to shelter him from them.

She then called *Creed*, who said that he heard Nelthorp say that Lady Lisle did not know of his coming, and did not know his name, and that he did not tell his name till he was taken.

Lady Lisle then concluded her defence by fresh protestations of her loyalty to the King.

But though I could not fight for him myself, my son did, he was actually in arms on the King's side in this business. I instructed him always in loyalty, and sent him thither; it was I that bred him up to fight for the King.

Judge Jeffrey's summing up

Jeffreys begins his summing up by reminding the jury of the terms of their oath and reminding them of their duty:—

That not anything can move you either to compassion of the prisoner on the one hand, or her allegations and protestations of innocence; nor, on the other hand, to be influenced by anything that comes from the court, or is insinuated by the learned counsel at the bar, but that you will entirely consider what evidence has been given to you, and being guided by that evidence alone, you that are judges of the fact will let us know the truth of that fact, by a sincere and upright verdict.

He goes on to dwell on the wickedness of Monmouth's rebellion, and the mercy of God as shown in the restoration of Charles II. After dwelling on this and on the blessing of having asked so steadfast a supporter of the Church of England as James II., he proceeds to discuss the actual facts of the case.

This person, Mrs Lisle, the prisoner at the bar, she is accused for receiving and harbouring this person: and gentlemen, I must tell you for law, of which we are the judges, and not you, That if any person be in actual rebellion against the King and another person (who really and actually was not in rebellion) does receive, harbour, comfort and conceal him that was such, a receiver is as much a traitor as he who indeed bore arms: We are bound by our oaths and consciences, to deliver and declare to you what is law; and you are bound by your oaths and consciences to deliver and declare to us, by your verdict, the truth of the fact.

Gentlemen, that he [Hicks] was there in rebellion, is undeniably and unquestionably proved: That there are sufficient testimonies to satisfy you that this woman did receive and harbour him, is that which is left to your consideration; and, for that the proofs lie thus: And truly I am sorry to have occasion for repeating the circumstances of the proof; I mean the great art that has been used to conceal it; how difficult a thing it was to come at it; what time has been spent in endeavouring to find out truth in a fellow, that in defiance of all admonition, threats and persuasion, would prevaricate and shuffle to conceal that truth;

nay lie, and forswear himself to contradict it. But out of pure Christian charity, as I told him, so I tell you I do heartily pray, and all good Christians I hope will join with me in it, to the God of infinite mercy that He would have mercy upon his soul, upon which he hath contracted so great a guilt by the impudence of his behaviour and pertinacious obstinacy in those falsehoods which he hath made use of in this case. . . .

First he says, he came upon an errand from a man, he knows not whom, to my Lady Lisle's house; and thither he is brought by one Barter; and when he comes there he tells her, he comes in the name of one Hicks, who desired to be entertained there. Then she asks the question, whether Hicks had been in the army; and he told her he did not know; and he swears now he did not; But at last it came out that it was to entertain Hicks and another person; but it should seem that other persons were not named; and Barter tells you that Hicks and another person (who afterwards proved to be Nelthorp) are promised to be entertained, and ordered to come in the evening. But not to go backward and forward, as he has done in his evidence, denying what he afterwards acknowledged that he saw anybody besides a little girl; that he pulled down the hay out of the rack for his horse; that he eat anything but cake and cheese that he brought with him from home; that he was ever made to drink, or to eat or drink in the house, or ever meddled or made with anybody in the house. At last we are told that Carpenter met with him; and came out with a lanthorn and candle, took care of his horse, carried him into the room where Hicks and Nelthorp were, and the prisoner at the bar, Mrs Lisle; there they all supped together; there they fell into discourse; there Nelthorp's name was named, and they talked of being in the army, and of the fight; and so it is all come out, and makes a full and positive evidence.

But then suppose there was no more than the other evidence, and that the fellow remain in an hard-hearted obstinacy, then you are to consider the circumstances even from his first evidence, that this was after the rebellion was all over; for it seems during the rebellion she was in London, and it was notoriously known that the King's forces were in pursuit of the rebels, and this without any positive proof would be in itself a sufficient testimony to convince any considerate person, that she was to conceal those she ought not to conceal; because she directed the particular time wherein they should come, and that was at night; and no prudent person would receive strangers in the night, and give such directions in such a season without some extraordinary ground for it. When they came there, she provided a supper for them; and

you see what care is taken, that the woman only is permitted to bring that supper to the door, and the husband must set it on the table; nobody is permitted to attend there but he. Works of darkness always desire to be in the dark; works of rebellion and such like are never done in the light.

But then comes that honest fellow Barter (I call him so because he appears so to be, and he ought to be remembered with a great remark for his honesty), he tells you, he conducted him to the house, and what discourse passed there in his hearing. The prisoner asked him what countryman he was, and whether he was a brick-maker, and promised him so many acres of land in Carolina. The fellow upon observation and consideration, found himself under a great load, could not eat or sleep quietly, as men that have honest minds are uneasy under such things; falsehood and treason, and hypocrisy are a heavy load: and blessed be God, things were by this means discovered; for he goes and tells Col. Penruddock; and withal Dunne swears to Barter, it was the bravest job he had ever had in his life; whereas in the beginning of his story, he would have told you a strange story of a black beard and I do not know what, and that he got not one groat by it; that he gave the man 2s. 6d. out of his own pocket, and was so industrious as when he knew the way no farther, that he would hire one himself to show him the way, and all for nothing but only for the kindness he had for a black beard. . . .

God Almighty is a just God, and it may be worth considering (especially by her) how God has been pleased to make use of him as the instrument in this business; and she would do likewise well to consider the finger of God in working upon the heart of that man Barter, who was employed in all this affair, and that all the truth has been told by Nelthorp, that blackest of villains Nelthorp, that would have murdered the King and his royal brother; that he was one of those barbarous, malicious assassinates in that black conspiracy, and outlawed, should be harboured, by one that pretends a love for the royal family, and entertained and discoursed with at night about being in the army; yet that he and that other villain Hicks, who pretends to religion, and to be a preacher of the gospel, but is found in rebellion, and in the company of traitors, should be denied the next morning.

I hope they themselves are all by this time satisfied truth will come out, and I hope you will not be deceived by any specious pretences. . . .

Gentlemen, upon your consciences be it; the preservation of the government, the life of the King, the safety and honour of our

religion, and the discharge of our consciences as loyal men, good christians, and faithful subjects, are at stake; neither her age or her sex are to move you who have nothing else to consider but the evidence of the fact you are to try. I charge you therefore, as you will answer it at the bar of the last judgment, where you and we must all appear, deliver your verdict according to conscience and truth. . . . [The jury at first fail to agree.]

Then the jury laid their heads together for near a quarter of an hour, and at length agreed, and being called over, delivered in this verdict by the foreman.

THE VERDICT

CLERK OF ARRAIGNS.—Alice Lisle, hold up thy hand. Gentlemen of the jury, look upon the prisoner, how say ye? Is she guilty of the treason whereof she stands indicted, or not guilty.

FOREMAN.—Guilty.

CLERK OF ARRAIGNS.—What goods or chattels, lands or tenements had she?

FOREMAN.—None that we know of.

CLERK OF ARRAIGNS.—Look at her, jailor, she is found guilty of high treason; and prepare yourself to die.

Then the verdict was recorded.

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE.—Gentlemen, I did not think I should have any occasion to speak after your verdict, but finding some hesitancy and doubt among you, I cannot but say I wonder it should come about; for I think in my conscience the evidence was as full, and plain as could be, and if I had been among you, and she had been my own mother, I should have found her guilty. . . .

THE SENTENCE

The Court awards:

That you Mrs Lisle be conveyed from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, where your body is to be burnt alive till you be dead. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul.

This sentence was afterwards commuted to beheading.

She was accordingly beheaded on the afternoon of the 2nd of September 1685, in the market-place of Winchester.

In 1689, on the petition of her daughters, Mrs Lloyd and Mrs Askew, her attainder was annulled by Act of Parliament on the ground that the verdict was "injuriously extorted and procured by the menaces and violences and other illegal practices of George Lord Jeffreys, baron of Wem, then Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench."

ANALYSIS OF SOURCES

Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715), was born in Edinburgh, and in 1669 became Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, a position which he resigned five years later. He came to London, where he became prominent as a preacher and a politician. In 1685 Burnet retired to the Continent and, being outlawed by James II., became the Chaplain of William of Orange; on William's accession he was made Bishop of Salisbury. His most famous works were *The History of the Reformation* and *The History of My Own Times.*

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, was born in 1609. He went up to Oxford with the intention of taking Holy Orders, but in 1625 he left the University and entered the Middle Temple, where he speedily rose in his profession. In 1640 he became a member of the Short Parliament. During the Civil War his strong Royalist sympathies resulted in his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1643. He went into exile with Prince Charles, who made him Lord High Chancellor in 1658. He was eventually impeached for high treason and exiled. During his exile he finished his great *History of the Rebellion,* which was designed as an elaborate justification of the Royalist party. The work is valuable chiefly for its admirable biographical sketches in which, despite his Royalist sympathies, he pays a loyal tribute to the characters of the great leaders on the Parliamentary side.

Compton, Lady, wife of the second Earl of Northampton and daughter of the Earl of Spenser. She was one of the leaders of fashion and society in James I.'s reign.

Defoe, Daniel (? 1661–1731), the author of *Robinson Crusoe,* was born in London, the son of a butcher. He had a good education at a private school, and in 1685 was in business as a hose factor. His career was a varied one, but it was in journalism that he became best known, the outspokenness of his political pamphlets frequently bringing him into serious trouble. At the age of fifty-nine he produced the first volume of his immortal *Robinson Crusoe.* This was followed by several other novels and a vivid *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). Defoe died in 1731.

Dekker, Thos. (1570–1641), an Elizabethan playwright and pamphleteer. He was a prolific writer, but only a few of his plays were printed. He frequently collaborated with Ben Jonson, Middleton, Massinger, and other dramatists. His *Gull's Horn Book* is a curious account of contemporary London life and is supposed to be a sarcastic guide for young bloods to the manners and usages of polite society.

Earle, John (1601–1665), bishop of Salisbury and author of *Microcosmographie, or A Piece of the World discovered; in Essayes and Characters.* His work is similar to the *Characters* of Sir Thos. Overbury, and gives a picturesque idea of the manners of the times.

Evelyn, John, was born of wealthy parentage at Wotton, Surrey, in 1620, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple. During the Civil War he travelled on the Continent, but at the Restoration he was received at Court with great favour and became one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal, treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, and secretary to the Royal Society. He died in 1706. He wrote on many subjects, but is chiefly remembered for his delightful *Diary*, discovered in an old clothes basket at Wotton in 1817. The extracts given in this volume will, it is hoped, encourage the reader to read the book itself.

Fuller, Thomas (1608–1661), a Royalist divine and antiquary, who served as a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and died shortly after the Restoration. His great work, *The Worthies of England*, deals with the counties of England and their illustrious sons. Fuller also wrote *The Holy State and the Profane State, The Church History of Britain*, and a *History of Cambridge University.*

Fox, George, was the founder of the Society of Friends or Quakers, and was born in 1624. "His life is little else than a record of persecution, insults and imprisonments." He died in 1691.

Harington, Sir John (1561–1612), godson of Queen Elizabeth, to whose Court he repaired after leaving Cambridge. The favour he obtained by his wit was endangered by the freedom of his satires. He was knighted by Essex, under whom he served in Ireland.

Howell, James (? 1594–1666), had a varied career, and in turn was Oxford graduate, steward in a glass manufactory, Member of Parliament, Royalist spy, Historiographer-royal. He wrote many works, of which the best known is the volume of *Familiar Letters.*

Ludlow, Edmund (? 1617–1692), one of the judges of King Charles I., afterwards elected to the State Council of the Commonwealth. He eventually retired to Switzerland, where he wrote his *Memoirs.*

Misson, François Maximilian (1650–1722), French Huguenot, who travelled in Italy and England, and wrote an interesting account of his travels in those two countries.

Moderate Intelligencer, The. One of the earliest of English newspapers. The first number appeared in 1645.

Moryson, Fynes (1566–1617), after becoming Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, travelled widely over Europe and the Levant, and published his observations and experiences in his valuable *Itinerary.*

Overbury, Sir Thos. (1581–1613), studied at Oxford and the Middle Temple, and afterwards travelled on the Continent. Becoming associated with Robert Carr, the favourite of James I., he was through his influence knighted in 1611. He was afterwards involved in the matrimonial intrigue of Lady Essex and eventually was poisoned. His *Characters* is the best known of his works, all of which were published posthumously.

Paule, Sir George (? 1563–1637), Comptroller of Archbishop Whitgift's household, and Member of Parliament. His biography of Whitgift was published in 1612.

Pepys, Samuel, was born at Brampton, Hants, in 1633, the son of a tailor. He came to London, was educated at St Paul's School and Cambridge. In 1658 he became a clerk in the Exchequer, and later (through the influence of the Duke of York, who was attracted by his business-like qualities) Secretary to the Admiralty. During the Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch War he had control of Naval matters. At the Restoration he retired into private life. The famous *Diary* remained in cipher in Magdalene College, Cambridge, until 1825.

Petty, Sir William (1623–1687), was Professor of Anatomy at Oxford and was appointed physician to the army in Ireland. He was an early member of the Royal Society, started lead-mines, iron-works, and sea fisheries in South-West Ireland, invented a copying-machine, and took an interest in education. His *Political Arithmetic* is a valuable economic work.

Stubbes, Philip, a Puritan pamphleteer and author of *The Anatomie of Abuses,* which was published in 1583 as a vehement denunciation of the luxury of the times.

Wallis, Dr John (1616–1703), mathematician, was a founder of the Royal Society. He was trained at Cambridge, but became Professor of Geometry at Oxford and wrote numerous works on such varied subjects as mathematics, grammar, logic, theology and the teaching of the deaf and dumb.

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